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Exploring women Primary Teachers' understandings of
professional learning: putting together past experiences,
present demands and policy influences

Ann J Rae

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The University of Edinburgh
2012

Declaration

I hereby declare that:

I composed this thesis
This thesis is my own work
This work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional
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Signature.....

Acknowledgements

Early in my studies, I found a particularly lengthy acknowledgement puzzling; surely could be no need to acknowledge so many people. Wolcott (2009, p.129), however, threw light on the need and the necessity to recognise both those ‘whose ideas are in print’ and also those who have willingly and thinkingly made contributions to a work. A special note though should also go to the source of ideas, especially to others who have unknowingly provided inspiration as passing conversations can do much to advance thinking.

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Abstract

Internationally the contribution that teachers' learning can make in bringing about change in education, by improving outcomes for young people, is a topic of ongoing interest. Influenced by discourses of professionalism, in Scotland education policy has developed over time to support and structure teacher learning throughout the teaching career. However, the lived experience of being a teacher is a socially constructed act located in multiple realities. Policy in action may, or may not, reflect the intentions of policy makers. Within the context of Primary Education, in which 92% of teachers are women, this qualitative study explores women Primary Teachers' experiences and understandings of professional learning.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 18 women Primary Teachers and 12 opinion shapers. Critical analysis of relevant educational policy also took place in order to explore dominant policy discourses. A Grounded Theory approach was adapted for data analysis and theory construction.

Sensitised by thinking tools provided by feminist theory and Bourdieu, the findings suggest early schooling plays an important part in shaping experiences and understandings of learning. Moreover, gender matters in understanding women Primary Teachers' experiences and understandings of learning. Early gendered learning identities seemed to notably influence how learning was negotiated and enacted later as a woman, as a teacher and thus as a professional.

The woman teacher participants in this study were theorised as Caring Teachers. However, Caring Teachers is not a homogenous construct as the women performed as Nice women, as Confident women, as Kind women and as Authoritative women. Influenced by early schooling and a desire to be 'good teachers', the Nice and the Kind women produced themselves within traditional discourses of femininity, of compliance and subordination. This performance of a teacher was vulnerable to policy demands as, despite the rhetoric of professionalism, education policy constructs Class Teachers as technicians. In contrast, the Confident and Authoritative women, more likely to be Chartered Teachers, produced themselves

somewhat differently. Their habitus predisposed them to perform as a learner with some confidence. However, although the Confident women and Authoritative women understood and enacted teacher learning differently, their learning too was constrained by the limitations of policy-sanctioned discourses.

Informed by the findings of this small-scale study, I argue that teacher learning is subject to complex, interwoven understandings of woman, of learner and of teacher as professional. Attention, therefore, should be given to the interrelated nature of the aforementioned constructs as Women Primary teachers' learning and professionalism has played, and will continue to play, an important role in shaping the outcomes available to children.

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List of Abbreviations

AA	Administrative Assistant
AERS	Applied Educational Research Scheme
Audit Scotland	Accounts Commission and Auditor General for Scotland
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BEd	Bachelor of Education
BERA	British Educational Research Association
CfE	Curriculum for Excellence
ChT	Chartered Teacher
COSLA	Convention of Scottish Local Authorities
CP	Course Provider
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CT	Class Teacher
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DipPrimEd	Diploma in Primary Education
EA	Education Authority
EIS	Educational Institute of Scotland
EO	Education Officer
EPL	Enhanced competence-based learning in the early professional development of teachers
FTE	Full Time Equivalent
GLOW	Scottish Schools Digital Network (formerly known as SSDN)
GTCS	General Teaching Council for Scotland
HIGIOS	How good is our School?
HM	Her Majesty's
HMIE	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education
HT	Head Teacher
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
INSET	In-service Education and Training
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
LTS	Learning and Teaching Scotland
MEd	Master of Professional Enquiry in Education
MSc	Master of Science
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PD	Professional Development
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
PGDE	Post Graduate Diploma in Education
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PRD	Professional Review and Development
Probationer	Probationary Teacher
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education

List of Abbreviations

QIO	Quality Improvement Officer
SA	Support Assistant
SChT	Standard for Chartered Teacher
SE	Scottish Executive
SEED	Scottish Executive Education Department
SFR	Standard for Full Registration
SG	Scottish Government
SH	Standard for Headship
SITE	Standard for Initial Teacher Education
SOEID	Scottish Office Education and Industry Department
SQH	Scottish Qualification for Headship
TA	Teaching Assistant
TLRP	Teaching and Learning Research Programme
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
ULR	Union Learning Representative
WTA	Working Time Agreements

Chapter 1

Introducing the study

Introduction

From within the Scottish context the following study explored, analysed, interpreted and theorised some women Primary teachers' experiences and understandings of their own professional learning. Interviews took place with women Primary Teachers and opinion Shapers. An adapted grounded theory approach was adopted.

Before I go further though, I consider it constructive to signal my position as a researcher and to make my research approach clear. The work which follows is influenced by Barr's (1999, p.40) thinking that 'knowledge is not neutral, but always socially situated: there is no "God's eye view", no "knowledge from nowhere" '.

In this chapter, I outline the rationale for this study by highlighting why progressing understanding of women Primary Teachers' learning is important, and conclude by introducing my research questions.

Why women Primary Teachers' learning is important

Scotland claims pride in its long tradition of education which is achieved, in part, through its distinctive education system (Scotland, 1969; Clark and Munn, 1997; O'Brien, 2007; Bryce and Humes, 2008). Being able to assert an egalitarian tradition is important to the character of Scotland (Paterson *et al.*, 2001; Humes and Bryce, 2003). However, the purported democratic education provision in Scotland may not be all it seems. Questions can be raised regarding whose intellectual interests are attended to through schooling in Scotland.

Education in Scotland: the democratic tradition

In 563AD along with Christianity, Saint Columba brought the beginnings of a long tradition of education to Scotland (Stewart, 1927). By the end of the fifteenth century every main burgh in Scotland had a school which provided schooling, in both rural areas and in the cities, for the sons and heirs of Scotland (Hunter, 1971). This made Scotland an unusual case (Houston, 2002) and is exemplified in the oft

quoted tradition of the lad o' pairts (McCrone, 2008). The tradition claims the Scottish system of schooling ensured neither economic nor social disadvantage should hamper boys with academic promise (Anderson, 1983, 2008). Indeed these egalitarian traditions are those upon which Scottish education is now based. That education is a nation-wide system, that it is compulsory, that it is a graded system and most importantly that education is the right of all (Anderson, 1983) can be traced back to John Knox's attempt in 1560 to set out a national system of education. This meritocratic ideal remains central to the Scottish belief that education is connected to opportunity and democracy.

Social Interests

However, obscured by Scotland's democratic ambitions are complex questions of interest and values, of inclusion and exclusion (McCrone, 2008); as women as intellectuals are absent from the Scottish tradition of education (Corr, 1998). Although social class was not to be a barrier in the reportedly egalitarian system, gender was not afforded the same concern (Anderson, 1997). While talent and intellect were to be sufficient for boys to be socially mobile, to climb the education ladder and move from the croft to medicine or ministering, the same opportunity was not available to girls (Corr, 1998; McCrone, 2008). It can be argued, however, that an absence of concern for girls with intellectual promise, the 'lass o' pairts' (Corr, 1998) merely reflected the historical context regarding societal and cultural beliefs at that time. A lack of regard for women's education was as true in many other countries, as it was for Scotland. However, acting to counteract social class as a determinant of schooling provision implies an enlightened approach to social justice which is embodied in the Scottish identity and claimed to be peculiar to Scotland (Anderson, 1983). Yet this construction of the Scottish identity as egalitarian was bound up with the interests of men (Corr, 1998) and, as Paterson (2003) notes, a reluctance to attend to gender in the curriculum continued even into the 1950s.

However, although the Scottish tradition of education as a means to promote opportunity and tackle inequality endures, this aim is no longer driven by only national concerns. Education now has increased importance in the globalised economy (cf. Chapter 2, p.22). The constant search of how to bring about

improvement to children's learning is increasingly focused on teachers' performance. Insightfully though, Cochran-Smith (2004b, p.3) cautions:

Over the past several years, a new consensus has emerged that teacher quality is one of the most, if not the most, significant factor in students' achievement and educational improvement. In a certain sense, of course, this is good news, which simply affirms what most educators have believed for years: teachers' work is important in students' achievement and in their life chances. In another sense, however, this conclusion is problematic, even dangerous. When teacher quality is unequivocally identified as the primary factor that accounts for differences in student learning, some policy makers and citizens may infer that individual teachers alone are responsible for the successes and failures of the educational system despite the mitigation of social and cultural contexts [and the]¹support provided for teachers' ongoing development, Influenced by the new consensus about teacher quality, some constituencies may infer that "teachers teaching better" is the panacea for disparities in school achievement and thus conclude that everybody else is off the hook for addressing the structural inequalities and differential power relations that permeate our nation's schools.

Structural inequality, however, also permeates the lives of teachers. How then to find ways to teach teachers better, as we shall see throughout this thesis, is complex.

Discourses of professionalism, transformation, performativity and accountability are among those which currently dominate discussion of teacher education (Reeves, Forde, O'Brien, Smith and Tomlinson, 2002; Sachs, 2003; Cochran-Smith, 2004a; Ball, 2008; Groundwater-Smith and Mockler, 2009), not only in Scotland but other parts of the UK, the USA and Australia. The rise of the audit culture can be found in these and many other countries; this has brought tension to both teachers' work practices and to their learning. The expectation for individual achievement and a respect for intellectuality among children (Scottish Government [SG], 2009), however, does not seem to be extended to teachers. Rather, education reform in Scotland seems to increasingly de-professionalise teachers amid claims to

¹ Throughout the text, there are times when, in order to clarify the meaning of the original or to improve readability in this text, I make insertions. Inserted text is marked thus [].

professionalise (cf. Chapter 9, p.270). As I outline in Chapter 2 (p.23), tensions seem to be at play between autonomy and prescription in teacher learning policy in Scotland.

Yet along with the complexity of gender inequality, what it is to be a professional and what it is to learn are also complex. Continuing Professional Development (CPD) policies (Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED), 2001, 2005; General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS), 2006a, b, 2009) unproblematically state that teachers must engage in career long professional development. However, professional development is a construct that is neither neutral nor without intent (McWilliam, 2002). Questions can therefore be raised regarding whose interests are being served by teachers' learning and of the nature of knowledge, of power and of agency (McWilliam, 2002) in relation to CPD.

So while it seems generally agreed that teacher learning is important there is still much to be explored. In this study, I draw attention specifically to women Primary Teachers' learning. In part this focus, as I explain below, is related to my own experiences. However, as I explain in Chapters 3 (p.44) and 4 (p.100), this interest is also theoretically grounded. Better understanding teacher's learning is important in not only improving understanding of teachers' CPD but also in theorising the influence of gender, teachers as learners and constructions of professionalism if outcomes are to be improved for all learners.

Having outlined why progressing understanding of women Primary Teachers' learning is important, I now make clear my interest and embeddedness in this study.

Reflection: my quest for understanding

Bourdieu made the point that sociologists often find themselves raising problems about the world they are part of, and using constructs they have learned about by being a product of the object they set about to explore (Bourdieu cited in Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). Reflexivity, therefore, 'provides the possibility of an awakening of consciousness' (Webb, Robertson and Fluck, 2005, p.54) of 'a small chance of knowing what game we play and of minimising the ways in which we are manipulated by the forces of the field in which we evolve' (Bourdieu and Wacquant,

1992, p.198-199). In order then to begin to make a claim to trustworthiness (cf. Chapter 5, p.152), and so my comments as a researcher will not be undermined by my subjectivity and embeddedness, I acknowledge that my identity has been shaped not only by experiences of which I am conscious but also by social forces that unconsciously exert power on my assumptions and assertions. I now also make clear my interest in this study.

Professional interests

I have always recognised, to varying degrees, that my interests lie with people and the nature of human interactions. Those concerned with such interests often find themselves located in caring professions (cf. Chapter 6, p.172), and as I have also always valued and sought out opportunities to learn, it is perhaps unsurprising that I followed a path which eventually led to teaching.

I joined the teaching profession in 2000, the year the McCrone Agreement was adopted (SEED, 2001). Having just graduated as a Bachelor of Education (BEd), I was eager to continue learning and so delighted by the opportunity to engage in 35 hours of annual CPD (SEED, 2001). I quickly found myself puzzled by some of my colleagues' responses to the new arrangements for professional learning.

As time and my interest in CPD progressed, I realised that some teachers did not record all their learning activities in their CPD record (SEED, 2001). Brief, informal discussions with colleagues, relating mainly to learning in Information Communications Technology (ICT), an area I was particularly interested in at that time, revealed concerns. Due to the informality of many learning activities, and as time spent 'practising' was not considered a CPD opportunity, some teachers felt unable to record such learning. The requirement to write a dissertation for a Masters in Science (MSc) then provided me with the opportunity to investigate teachers' learning further; to try to uncover what influences teachers were taking into account when planning and recording professional learning in ICT (Rae, 2006). By the end of that study I was even more intrigued (cf. Chapter 3, p.76). I found myself with more questions than answers regarding the nature and purpose of Primary teachers' learning.

My preoccupation with teachers' learning has not subsided. At a time when so much is expected from teachers' learning, when it can be thought of both as an entitlement and an obligation (Purdon, 2003b), it seems I can contribute to education by further investigating the complexity of Primary Teachers' learning.

Outlining this study

The purpose of this study is to enrich and progress present theoretical understandings of women Primary Teachers' understandings and experiences of learning. It is not my intention though to construct grand theories which 'offer a simple process of "transfer" from knowledge into policy' (Ozga, 2008, p.189). I attempt instead to explore a social situation with a view to discuss what the findings may mean for the world of education.

In order to analyse and interpret the lived experience and understandings of teachers' learning, I carried out semi-structured interviews with 18 women Primary Teachers and 13 opinion shapers (cf. Chapter 2, p.13). I critically analysed relevant educational policy to explore the dominant policy discourses that shape the current policy constructions of a teacher. I adopted a grounded theory method for data construction and analysis which I explain in detail in Chapter 5 (p.121).

Outlining this thesis

I present here the structure traditionally adopted for an empirical study. However, I discuss my decision to adopt this structure further in Chapter 9 (p.277).

In Chapters 2 and 3, I begin by setting the scene and provide the context for this study.

In Chapter 2, I analyse aspects of the McCrone Report² (SEED, 2000) and the McCrone Agreement³ (SEED, 2001) which are relevant to my focus on teachers'

² I provide a full reference here for *A teaching profession for the 21st Century (The McCrone Report) agreement reached following recommendations the report of the Committee of Inquiry into professional conditions of service for teachers* but hereafter refer to this policy only as the McCrone Report.

³ I provide a full reference here for *A teaching profession for the 21st Century: agreement reached following recommendations made in the McCrone report* but hereafter refer to this policy only as the McCrone Agreement.

learning. I discuss the professional standards for teacher education in Scotland (SEED, 2005; GTCS, 2006a; 2006b, 2009). I argue, although different constructs of a teacher are discernible in all the professional standards that performance as a reflective or enquiring teacher seems to be constrained by the more dominant construct of a teacher as effective. I end this chapter with discussion of Her Majesty's Inspectorate, Education Authorities and School Management Teams as mechanisms of accountability at national, local and school levels. I conclude that across these organisations there seems to be a move towards quality assurance and performance management, albeit embedded in rhetoric of professionalism, as a means to regulate teachers.

Prior scholarship, however, is also necessary to contextualise a study and to locate the relevance of the findings. In Chapter 3, I draw attention to studies I consider important to set the scene for the later interpretation of the data. I investigate the literatures in three sections; the first is titled Professionalism, the second, Teachers' learning and the third, Women as teachers and learners.

In the first section, I consider the notion of professionalism. I suggest the traditional construct of a professional is hegemonic in nature. I discuss the teacher as a professional and begin to draw attention to tensions in policy that use the discourse of professionalism as a means to bring about control and regulation. Construction of the teacher as a professional is not limited to one model of a teacher, therefore, I draw attention to a small number of understandings of the teacher to be found in contemporary teaching policy and theory. Importantly, I also describe alternative constructions of the teacher, as they seem to be seldom mentioned in education policy. In section II, I discuss models of learning. I draw attention to non-formal learning and learning through dialogue, arguing such learning is presently devalued in favour of policy constructions of learning as auditable, systematic and standardised. I conclude this chapter by stressing the importance of gender. I suggest gender influences: teaching as work, teaching as constructed in policy and how women come to know and understand. I argue that in not taking account of alternative ways of knowing, bringing about policy intended outcomes from teachers' professional learning may be problematic.

In Chapter 4, I introduce my theoretical framework. I chart my search for conceptual focus. I outline Gramsci's notion of hegemony as a means to understand power relations and the practices of the dominant class. I explain that although hegemony was a sensitising concept (cf. Chapter 5, p.127) I decided it was inappropriate in this study as a means to analyse why the study women's agency seemed to be limited. I move then to introduce aspects of feminist theory specifically that of doing gender, and thinking tools provided by Bourdieu, namely field, habitus and cultural capital. I argue these concepts are more appropriate to advancing theoretical understandings of the women learners in this study. However, all theoretical frameworks have limitations, so I also outline the limitations of the theories both generally, and in the context of this study. I conclude this chapter by explaining the relationships of the adopted theoretical tools in a diagram.

Although my experiences as a Primary Teacher endowed me with some understandings of the systems and experience of engaging in professional learning, shifting identity to that of a researcher carrying out an empirical study necessitated an in-depth exploration of how to carry out an empirical study. My shift in identity is particularly important if the study is to be considered ethical and epistemologically coherent and credible. I begin Chapter 5 by explaining my methodological position. I argue that in adopting an interpretative position that I am able to acknowledge the socially constructed nature of experiences and understandings in the social world. I then outline my method of enquiry. I argue that understanding the assumptions of a research method and its fit with research aims allowed adjustments to be made. I next detail how the research site and participants were chosen, along with how data construction took place. I use research literatures to explain the thinking underpinning my research design. I follow with detail of the process of data analysis and theory construction. Discussion of the notion of trustworthy research comes next. I defend the highly descriptive nature of this chapter in a discussion of applicability, transparency and trustworthiness. Prior to entering the field, I gave much thought to try to move beyond the requirement to 'eat your epistemological greens [in order that I could] lead the good research life', (Law, 2003, p.3) and carry out ethical data collection. I conclude this chapter with my approach to researching with integrity.

In chapters 6, 7 and 8 I present quotes selected from the interviews with the teachers and the opinion shapers to illustrate and evidence my interpretation of the presented themes.

The importance of the women's own early experience of learning was an unexpected finding, which is set out in Chapter 6. I draw attention there, to the place of identity and perceptions of the value of learning. I explain how these perceptions can influence later engagement with learning. I argue that early schooling in part shapes understandings of what it is to be a learner. This then later influences understandings of learning as an adult in the workplace. I suggest the themes 'feeling unsuccessful with learning' and 'learning alone' influenced how some of the Nice women approached and understood learning. That 'struggling to learn' positioned further academic study, such as the Masters level study required to gain Chartered teacher status, outwith Nice women's disposition.

'Legitimising learning' and 'conceptualising learning' are the themes introduced in Chapter 7 which explain the women's experiences and understandings of professional learning. The power of space is important in defining both 'learning that counts', learning the study teachers recorded in their CPD record and perhaps more importantly 'learning that can't count'. Having questioned issues of legitimacy in teacher learning, I next discuss the women's constructions of professional learning. I suggest that reconstructing understandings of teacher learning would be difficult for many of the study women.

'Playing the game' is explored in Chapter 8. Although policy texts are constructed at macro levels, they are then subject to interpretation at meso and micro levels. In this chapter, I bring together opinion shapers' understandings of teacher learning together with the understandings and experiences of the women teachers. I explain how firstly finding out 'what's the expectation' allowed the teachers to engage in policy negotiations and interpretations. I argue that although sanctioned as a means to bring about improvement that the commonsenseness of 'good practice' obscured its root in quality assured, standardised practices as legitimised by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIe). Finally, I discuss evaluation of teachers' learning. Despite

high levels of concern regarding impact by some opinion shapers, discussion of evaluation and impact proved to be the most elusive of my research topics.

In Chapter 9, I return to the research questions to draw together the place the findings play in progressing understandings of teacher learning. While there is understandably much concern at times of curricular reform to prepare teachers for changed expectations through CPD, I suggest the part of the CPD puzzle which has attracted less attention are the perceptions, dispositions and identities of the teachers. I argue it is important to emphasise the place of gender, the complexity and interrelatedness of teacher learning with day-to-day teaching, and notions of professionalism when aiming to progress understanding of teachers' professional learning.

I draw this thesis to a close in Chapter 10. As I stressed earlier in this introduction, this study is based in my own experiences of teacher learning and my quest to deepen my understanding of my colleagues' thinking. In Chapter 10, I reflect on doctoral study as a model of learning and the extent to which my pursuit for understanding has been met.

Research questions

In order to bring focus to the discussions that follow, I now introduce my research questions.

- What do women Primary Teachers understand by professional learning?
- What are women Primary Teachers' experiences of professional learning provision?
- In what ways do women Primary Teachers' identities influence engagement with professional learning?
- What are women Primary Teachers' perceptions of the focus, purpose and value of professional learning?
- In what ways do women Primary Teachers evaluate their own learning?
- Do women Primary Teachers associate professional learning with an effect on pupils' learning, affective, behavioural and cognitive, and if so how do they measure it?

- What are opinion shapers' perceptions of the focus, purpose and value of professional learning?

I elaborate on the formulation of these questions later in Chapter 3 (p.95).

In Chapter 2, which follows, I discuss aspects of the policy context for teachers' professional learning in Scotland relevant to understanding my findings.

Chapter 2

Setting the scene: the policy context for teachers' learning in Scotland

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I introduced and explained my interest in Primary Teachers' learning. I began to question the integrity of the democratic tradition of education in Scotland by discussing the schooling of girls and the place of women as intellectuals. I pointed to tensions in the outcomes expected from teacher learning.

However, before delving into an in-depth dialogue which tries to bring some understanding to the detail of the accounts of some women Primary teachers' learning, it is important firstly to take account of the education policies and organizations which structure, support and regulate teachers and their learning in Scotland. Contextualising this study in this way makes clear the setting in which my pursuit for new knowledge takes place. It is not my aim though to engage in a comprehensive analysis of policy. However, by charting the education policy landscape, specifically the policies that construct and signal what it is to be a teacher in Scotland, policy expectations are mapped out. This is important as this landscape influences the experiences and understandings of the women Primary Teachers discussed later in Chapters 6-8.

Challenging myths

Although it has its shortcomings, there is much to be said about the distinctiveness of the Scottish education system (Scotland, 1969; Humes and Bryce, 2008; Gatherer, 2008) and the place the system has played in recent CPD policy developments. Sensitive probing of what was distinctive about Scottish education was required, as a peril existed that mythical (McCrone, 2008) rather than founded beliefs could be uncovered (Anderson, 1983). Devolution brought scrutiny to one such long enduring clichéd belief; that Scottish home rule would create the conditions for a better system of education that would further promote Scottish values and increase equity among its citizens. However, as Paterson comments 'the conditions for creating a

worthwhile system of education are much more complex' (Paterson, 2008, p.990) and now perhaps more evidently go beyond a devolved government's powers to direct the process. Likewise, as I go on to argue (cf. Chapter 6, p.176), a lack of attention from those who shape education policy to the enduring nature of social structures may also undermine attempts to reform teachers' learning.

Before I continue further, as I used the term opinion shapers, it is important to make clear my thinking in adopting this phrase. Opinion shapers, 'key informants, or "elite interviewees" are ...⁴ those in positions of power and influence within relevant educational organisations' (Kennedy *et al.*, 2008a). However, I use opinion shapers in preference to Kennedy *et al.*'s. (2008a) terms to draw attention to the influence prominent education organisations such as Education Authorities (EAs), the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIe) and Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) have in shaping teacher identity and legitimising notions of teacher learning.

The McCrone Agreement and teachers' learning

In September 1999 an independent Committee of Inquiry into teachers' Professional Conditions of Service (SEED, 2000) was set up in response to a breakdown in negotiations between the Scottish Government (SG) and the teaching unions. An inability to come to an agreement regarding pay and professional conditions of service for teachers in Scotland lay at the root of the breakdown. In an attempt to remedy the situation, the Committee's remit was broad:

to inquire widely into how teachers' pay, promotion structures and conditions of service should be changed in order to ensure a committed, professional and flexible teaching force which will secure high and improving standards of school education for all children in Scotland into the new Millennium

(SEED, 2000, p.1).

With its stated aim to also improve standards, Patrick, Forde and McPhee (2003) locate the thinking of the committee within a school improvement discourse. Yet

⁴ Throughout this thesis, there are times when words are omitted from quotations from texts or from participants' comments. Omitted text is marked thus

although the improvement discourse may be thought of as preferable to the more explicitly constraining effectiveness discourse (Wrigley, 2003), locating change for teachers within the field of improvement too can be thought of as problematic.

The effectiveness discourse

Characterised as a top-down model underpinned by organizational change, effectiveness and accountability (Sachs, 2001), the effectiveness discourse is based in the ideology of the school effectiveness movement. Drawing often, but not exclusively, on sophisticated multi-level, statistical data modelling, school effectiveness research aims to identify the factors that bring about variation to schools in their effectiveness (MacBeath, 2007). School effectiveness researchers claim that change in education can be brought about by:

modifying school organizational characteristics through developing specialist schools with a distinctive ethos, through giving school effectiveness materials to all school leaders and through a national educational discourse about school (rather than teacher) improvement

(Reynolds, Muijs and Treharne, 2003, p.84).

Effective schools are considered to be those which have ‘a differential and measurable effect on the outcomes of their pupils’ (Reeves *et al.*, 2002, p.19). The effectiveness paradigm can be characterised by its concern with outcomes that are measurable and quantifiable. Wrigley (2003), however, critiques this paradigm by reminding us that much of value in schools is overlooked in this approach as ‘we have almost reached the stage where what cannot be measured simply does not *count*’ (Wrigley, 2003, p.90, emphasis in the original). With a deep rooted concern to bring about equity, Wrigley (2003, p.91) asserts the ideology of the effectiveness movement amounts to ‘an antidemocratic transformation of learning and teaching’ which is given authority and legitimacy through the policy discourse (Day and Sachs, 2004b). However, observable outcomes continue to be considered by the effectiveness movement as the most efficient way to measure and bring about change in schools (MacBeath, 2007).

Similarly, the teacher effectiveness paradigm aims to identify the factors that characterise highly effective teachers; teacher who bring about gains in pupil

achievements (Reynolds *et al.*, 2003). Inherent, however, in the effectiveness discourse is the implication that if there are schools and teachers that are effective, there are also schools and teachers that are ineffective.

The alleged ineffectiveness of some teachers has been used by governments (Ball, 2008) to prompt unfavorable public concern regarding teaching through the discourse of crisis (Forde, McMahon, McPhee and Patrick, 2006) as:

contentions about the “dreadful state” of education lead inevitably to doubts about the competence, quality and professionalism of teachers, and to proposals to “fix” them
(Scott and Dinham, 2002, p.16).

A culture laying blame with teachers is then further promoted through the:

“discourse of derision” that deploys exaggeration and “ludicrous images, ridicule, and stereotypification ... a caricature has been developed and presented to the public as an accurate depiction of the real”
(Kenway, 1990, cited in Ball, 2008, p.96).

Teacher incompetence thus comes to be positioned as at the heart of problems in education (Ball, 2008). The means to fix the problem of unsatisfactory standards of school performance is to intervene and increase teachers’ effectiveness.

The improvement discourse

Similarly, the school improvement discourse is also underpinned by a paradigm for change but in this case through improvement. Improved schools are those which generate strategies able to bring about and sustain the capacity for improvement (Harris, 2002). However, school improvement is not value-free and takes place ‘through a particular mechanism of accountability’ (Bates, 2007, p.129).

In common with the school effectiveness paradigm, teachers’ failings are a notable feature of the improvement discourse. However, the improvement paradigm’s positioning of teachers as in a deficit is subtly obscured by the laudable aim to improve standards. As Scott and Dinham (2002, p.19) argue, the commonsenseness of the improvement paradigm is difficult to counter as:

the “need” to improve standards has become a staple of educational debate and the device used to justify intervention in schools and schooling. If our schools are “failing” then something must be done to address this lamentable state of affairs. It becomes too easy to accept this construction of the situation and enter the debate of how to “raise standards”.

The need, though, to tackle underachievement should never be played down. It must be acknowledged that some pupils in Scotland do leave school with inadequate levels of numeracy and literacy (Forde *et al.*, 2006). There is evidence from international comparisons of attainment to suggest pupil performance in Scotland could be improved (SG, 2010a). However, this evidence too should be subject to scrutiny and interpretation.

Scotland’s general ranking in international comparative analyses of attainment has changed little over time. This may be thought of as a concern especially due to an increased focus in recent years on improvement. Yet children’s performance in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2009 (SG, 2010a) is ranked in the mid-ranges of achievement. While there is room for improvement, it seems that overall the attainment of children in Scotland can also be constructed positively. At a time of increasing awareness of the need to compete in a global economy and to secure economic growth (Brown and Lauder, 2004), this ranking is constructed as in a deficit as ‘The quality of a nation’s education and training system is seen to hold the key to future economic prosperity’ (Brown and Lauder, 2004, p.47). Such thinking had come to influence education policy across the UK (Apple, 1996; Bottery and Wright, 2000; Ozga, 2005; Gewirtz, Mahony, Hextall and Cribb, 2009).

Situating the McCrone Report remit within the improvement discourse is, therefore, complex. Even more so when taking into account Reynolds’ (2001, p.27) claim that following calls for a merger of the school effectiveness and improvement paradigms there:

followed a “synergy” of perspectives in which both effectiveness and improvement researchers and practitioners made contributions to a merged perspective.

It is contested though as to whether the paradigms for change which are based on related ideologies can be thought of as separate (Harris, 2001) or as merged.

In the McCrone Report, however, there is an implicit construction that teachers in Scotland were lacking in commitment, professionalism, flexibility and so in favour of low standards. Change was to take place. Teachers needed to improve.

Bringing about change

In order to bring about change to the teaching profession in Scotland and to improve standards at a national level, the committee published a number of recommendations in the Report in 2000. To 'secure' (SEED, 2000, p.1) improved education for children and young people in Scotland the recommendations included:

- a simplified career structure
- an increased pay award
- changes for new teachers' induction into the profession
- the requirement to engage in an annual professional review and, most relevant to this thesis,
- to changes for the arrangements of CPD.

These changes to the arrangements of CPD focused on the attention to be given to:

- ensure the quality of courses
- maximum opportunities for national accreditation of teachers' learning
- more effective arrangements for CPD
- an increased allocation of time for CPD
- the introduction of a CPD plan for all teachers to be agreed annually with management following the annual professional review and
- the appointment of a CPD co-ordinator in all schools.

Following further consultation, the recommendations regarding the quality and organisation of CPD were accepted and presented in the McCrone Agreement. The time to be spent on CPD, however, differed significantly to that of the McCrone recommendation.

The McCrone construction of learning

Taking the lead from the expected CPD requirements of other professionals such as Doctors (Royal College of Physicians, 2011), the McCrone committee recommended an increased time allocation for CPD of a further five days. Teachers could then commit more time to CPD if they considered it beneficial to their career (SEED, 2000). It was thought that improving opportunities for CPD would be beneficial to enhance teachers' esteem and capabilities and that this would also increase public confidence (Kennedy, 2006). The final agreement, however, enshrined the requirement to engage in career long professional learning through the introduction of an additional mandatory 35 hours of CPD per annum. This was to be 'accessible and applicable to every teacher' (SEED, 2001, p.16). Indicative of the accountability discourse (Doherty and McMahon, 2007) and control exerted via purported transparency, simply engaging in CPD alone was to be insufficient. Teachers would also be required to make a record of their learning in a CPD portfolio (SEED, 2001).

An ongoing belief persists that Scotland has (Stewart, 1927; Clark, 1997; Houston, 2002; Menter, Mahony and Hextall, 2004) resisted anglicised approaches to education. However, Doherty and McMahon counter that Scotland has, like England, developed its 'own particular performativity regime' (2007, p.253), and that the McCrone Agreement is part of that regime. Performance management in the shape of the CPD plan, the CPD portfolio and the monitoring role of the CPD Co-ordinator brought a new order of structural control to teachers' learning in Scotland (Doherty and McMahon, 2007). Furthermore, teachers must now engage in a Professional Review and Development (PRD) (SEED, 2002b) process in which:

The CPD plan should be agreed with the line manager at the annual professional review meeting. The plan should indicate development objectives and the development activities agreed by the reviewee and reviewer, to be undertaken in the following year. These activities should further support the teacher's strengths and help to address her or his development needs. ... Account should be taken of the reviewee's progress against previously agreed development objectives and her or his proposals to address needs she or he has identified.

(SEED, 2002b, p.6)

It seems teachers were not to be trusted to interpret and shape their own understandings of CPD. While the discourse of the teacher as a professional (cf. Chapter 3, p.48) features throughout both the McCrone Report and Agreement, trust to perform as an autonomous professional engaged in self-regulation and reflection is absent. Rather, control of CPD is located firmly at school level. The Agreement tasks Head Teachers and their management teams with surveilling teachers' learning (cf. Chapter 2, p.38).

As there is much debate in academia currently regarding the ideologies underpinning the terminology of teacher learning (cf. Chapter 3, p.63), it is worthy of note that both the McCrone Report and the final Agreement construct teachers' learning as CPD:

An additional contractual 35 hours of CPD per annum will be introduced as a maximum for all teachers, which shall consist of an appropriate balance of personal professional development, attendance at nationally accredited courses, small scale school based activities or other CPD activity. This balance will be based on an assessment of individual need taking account of school, local and national priorities and shall be carried out at an appropriate time and place

(SEED, 2001, p.7).

A concern to develop effective skills, to be achieved mainly through course attendance, dominates. This obligation is then set within a contractual arrangement and must be evidenced. Yet perhaps the dominance of this managerial discourse characterised by accountability, is unsurprising given the management nature of the McCrone group's membership (SEED, 2000) and the positioning of teachers as in need of professionalisation. Although marginally represented in the presence of two Head Teachers and some professional organisations, no Class Teachers with perspectives unfettered by managerial responsibility seemed to be present at any stage of the McCrone consultation process (SEED, 2000; SEED, 2001).

In order to contribute to the improvement of standards of education in Scotland, teachers were to have 'an entitlement to appropriate CPD' (GTCS, 2006a, p.2). Yet 'appropriate CPD' is an essentially contestable concept. From the perspective of the improvement paradigm, CPD can be constructed as a concern to improve access to

high-quality skills development (SEED, 2000) in order to improve outcomes for children. Yet alternative discourses beyond the development of a rational, technicist notion of the teacher also offer alternative and appropriate opportunities for teacher learning.

Learning underpinned by an intellectual discourse where teachers could be encouraged to explore fundamental principles concerned with education (Humes, 2001) could also lead to transformative practice (Forde *et al.*, 2006) (cf. Chapter 3, p.57). Appropriate learning in this instance may even be more likely to bring about the change required to improve children's experiences both in school and in society more widely. Boldly, Purdon (2003a) positions policy constructions of appropriate CPD within hegemonic discourses. Indeed Purdon (2003a) further suggests appropriate CPD is that which subtly strengthens political influence over teachers' practice using the discourse of professionalism as a means to exert control (Kennedy, 2007).

Examining the purpose of the McCrone Agreement, Reeves *et al.* (2002) state the varied aims as: an attempt to raise the morale and status of the teaching profession, to attract new teachers, and to counter attrition. They astutely conclude that 'this approach is more concerned with issues of motivation rather than the nature of teacher learning' (Reeves *et al.*, 2002, p.38). The nature of the teacher it seems is inextricably linked with issues of purpose and control, particularly in relation to whose interests are being served by their learning.

Having analysed the McCrone construction of teachers' learning, I move now to discuss some of the arguments for and against adopting professional standards as a means to signal what is expected from teachers and their learning in Scotland. I then analyse the professional standards that guide teachers' development in Scotland from Initial Teacher Education (ITE) (GTCS, 2006b), through provisional to Full

Registration (GTCS, 2006a) and then optionally on to Chartered Teacher (GTCS, 2009) or Headship (SEED, 2005)⁵.

Teacher reform in Scotland: adopting professional standards

In common with countries around the globe, a more structured approach in the form of competences/standards was finally adopted for current teacher education reform in Scotland (Menter, Brisard and Smith, 2006). Recommended first by the Sutherland Report (1997), consideration of a series of Standards to be brought together in a national framework for CPD (Scottish Office Education and Industry Department (SOEID), 1998)⁶ for teachers had been underway for some time. Finally compelled by the content of the McCrone Report and the subsequent McCrone Agreement, the work already undertaken in developing a national CPD framework was accordingly amended and completed (Christie and O'Brien, 2005; O'Brien, 2007). The Standards for teachers' education in Scotland were to sit within a reportedly comprehensive framework with the overall intention of structuring teachers' careers and guiding professional development (GTCS, 2006b).

This reform, however, was not without its critics. Kennedy (2006) argues the decision to adopt a framework was subject to insufficient debate and, without critique, the Standards have become normalised as commonsense. However, Christie (2003, p.962) contends that the creation of the Standards was a necessary and 'even a desirable part of the process of enhancement of the professionalism of teachers'. Christie (2003) claims the significant involvement of members of the teaching profession in the development of the Framework, along with the emphasis placed on professional values and personal commitment in the Standards demonstrates that the overall aim was to maintain and enhance the status of the teaching profession in Scotland. Carr (1993a), however, asserted early in the debate that competency based guidelines obscure the moral and ethical dimensions of teaching. Carr (1993a, p.24) suggests that autonomous, professional teachers are those who:

⁵ I provide full references here for *The standards for initial teacher education, full registration, chartered teacher and headship*. Hereafter when I refer to these standards collectively, I will refer to them only as the Standards.

⁶ I provide a full reference here for *the national framework for CPD in Scotland*. Hereafter when I refer to the national framework, I will refer only to the Framework.

reserve the right to be critical of current political and social policies and initiatives [while competences only] obscure the point that educational knowledge and practices are rooted ultimately in forms of moral and evaluative discourses.

Although concerned that the Standards ‘will serve to define professionalism’ (Kennedy, 2008, p.841), Kennedy does concede space could be found by teachers, who aim not only to comply with policy but to also shape both policy and their practice. What seems to be important then is how the Standards are mediated then enacted. Yet Forde, McMahon, McPhee and Patrick (2006) stress the Standards employ a functionalist notion of training in which teachers are instructed to become technically proficient; to become effective deliverers of externally defined, measurable outcomes. However, O'Brien, Christie, and Draper (2007, p.296) draw attention to the language of the Standards. They suggest the ‘fuzzy’ language used to describe the competences implies confidence that teachers in Scotland will be able to apply professional judgement to mediate how adjectives such as ‘sufficient’ and ‘appropriate’ will look in practice, so making space for alternative discourses of the teacher and of teacher learning. Jeyes (2003) believes this setting out of statutory responsibilities in general terms follows a Scottish tradition that seemingly allows a broad range of interpretation. This approach then ensures teachers have space to engage in autonomy in their professional practices should they wish to do so. Discourses of competent professional performance seem to vary and debate continues regarding the use of standards as a means to bring about renewal of the teaching profession (Reeves *et al.*, 2002).

However, although the coherence (Kennedy, 2006) and suitability of the Framework as a means to bring about teacher learning can be contested (Purdon, 2003a), the importance of teachers’ learning in bringing about change in education is generally agreed (Day and Sachs, 2004a; Townsend and Bates, 2007; Lingard, 2009; Menter, 2009). As Imig and Imig (2007, p.95) stress:

The desire for change in teacher education is everywhere. There is an almost universal quest for greater teacher quality, and with it, a demand for higher quality teacher education.

The challenge, it seems, is how to meet the demand for high quality teacher education. However, the concept of quality teacher education is as elusive (Imig and Imig, 2007) as is what is involved in high quality teaching.

Constructing the Standards

In Scotland to support and develop the teaching profession, the McCrone Report focused on the need for CPD post ITE. In order to bring about greater coherence across all elements of learning throughout teachers' careers, McCrone (SEED, 2000, 2001) also considered ITE, recommending it too should be subject to review. Notably, the review of ITE significantly impacted on the development of the Standards (Christie, 2003). The 2000 benchmarks for ITE were used as the reference point to design the future Standards. These Standards now construct and define what it is to be, and learn as, a teacher in Scotland. The last point is crucial to this thesis. The Standards have created discourses which define and constrain constructions of what it is to be a teacher in Scotland.

The discourses dominant in the Standards in Scotland reflect contemporary trends toward managerialism (Gewirtz *et al.*, 2009) and indicate a shift towards:

Regulatory models [which] embody a set of masculinist principles involving performance targets that focus on the visible and the measurable. At worst, they ignore the messy "people" business of teaching and focus solely on outcomes that are available to scrutiny, judgment and evaluation by line managers

(Mahony, Hextall and Menter, 2004).

I illustrate this claim firstly with reference to the *Standard for initial teacher education* (SITE) (GTCS, 2006b).

Policy constructions of the Student Teacher in Scotland

Teaching in Scotland is a graduate profession. A teaching qualification can be obtained through the award of either a four year Bachelor of Education (BEd) undergraduate degree or following the award of degree in another subject, upon gaining a one year Professional Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) (SG,

2010c). The *Standard for initial teacher education* (SITE) (GTCS, 2006b)⁷ details what is expected of a Student Teacher's performance and learning during ITE.

In an analysis of the development of the Framework, Humes (1997) suggests the tensions in the aims underpinning teacher education reform sheds light on why contrasting dominant and subordinate discourses can be found in policy constructions of the teacher.

The SITE had its roots in an earlier policy the *Guidelines for Initial Teacher Education Courses in Scotland* (SOEID, 1998a). This policy was subject to revision and became the *Standard for Initial Teacher Education in Scotland: benchmark information* (Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education [QAA] 2000) before taking its form as the 2006 SITE. Although the underpinning purposes and influences of these earlier revisions are important to the arguments I present here, analysing and reporting the changes in detail is of less significance. Instead, it is sufficient to provide an insight into the discourses used in policy construction of the Student Teacher over time and then to illustrate these discourses with reference to the 2006 SITE.

It is important, therefore, to make clear that the initial amendments to the 1998 guidelines (SOEID, 1998a) came about in response to demands for benchmarks as indicators of quality assurance in Higher Education, rather than with an intention to signal how to become a good teacher. Adopting behavioural objectives as the starting point upon which to advance a strategy for teachers' learning thus seems problematic and is discussed fully in a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the CPD policy development process from 1997 to 2005 by Kennedy (2006).

Yet although varied constructions of the teacher can be found in all the Standards, over time dominant policy constructions have shifted.

Admittedly the *Guidelines for Initial Teacher Education Courses in Scotland* (SOEID, 1998a) concludes with a list of competences detailing the practical skills

⁷ I provide a full reference here for the *Standard for initial teacher education* but hereafter will refer to the policy only as the SITE.

required for professional practice. However, in the detail provided with regard to the earliest component of teacher education, a professional discourse featuring intellectualism was also arguably evident. In this policy, the technicist discourse seemed somewhat tempered:

as the values, attributes and abilities of the individual shape
the way in which the competences are acquired and applied,
they are integral elements in professional development
(SOEID, 1998a, p.10).

Student Teachers were to be prepared ‘to become competent *and* thoughtful’ (SOEID, 1998a, p.1, my emphasis). This policy construction of a good teacher seemed to be open to the notion that teaching is a moral and intellectual endeavour (Carr, 2003) whereby personal abilities and values underpin ‘knowledge, understanding, critical thinking and practical skills’ (SOEID, 1998a, p.1). Although regulation featured in the 1998 guidelines, doing a good job as a Student Teacher could have included thoughtful exploration of teacher identity. Student Teachers could have found space to develop understanding that they could influence their working lives by actively shaping the kind of teacher they aimed to be. Engaging in such thinking is important as we shall see later (cf. Chapter 6, p.162), as teachers’ identities can have a long-term influence on children’s lives.

The 2000 version of the standard for ITE (QAA, 2000), however, seemed to mark a shift towards endorsement of the effectiveness discourse of the teacher as technician. The abridged introduction states:

the benchmark information is based on a vision of the newly
qualified teacher who, having successfully completed a
course in Initial Teacher Education in Scotland, can function
as an effective facilitator of pupils’ learning
(QAA, 2000, p.1).

Skills and abilities are then listed, notably before knowledge, understanding and values, as the distinctive features Student Teachers should be able to perform (QAA, 2000).

However, although in receipt of less focus, the notion of good teaching as more than a list of competences could be found. Indeed the need for interaction between the

main aspects of professional development was stressed in their representation as a triangle (See Figure 1 Model of the interrelationship of the three key aspects of professional development [reproduced]). Notably, professional values and personal commitment were purposefully positioned at the apex of the triangle to counter earlier suggestions claiming they seemed an afterthought (Christie, 2003).

Figure 1 Model of the interrelationship of the three key aspects of professional development (reproduced)



(GTCS, 2006b, p.6)

Yet although Christie (2003, p.955) stresses:

great care was taken during consultation meetings to dispel the notion that the expected features should operate in any way like a behavioural checklist,

doing a good job as a Student Teacher was more prescribed in this policy. A large part of the text was given over to a grid defining a series of benchmarks deconstructing what a Student Teacher was expected to perform. The benchmarks were illustrated through a series of expected features written as imperatives (QAA, 2000). Adopting this format along with the directive tone implied that in Scotland there was a pre-defined, policy construct of a good Student Teacher. The technicist discourse, featuring a reductionist skills and competence model positioning competent teaching as performance observable through pre-defined behaviours, seems to dominate in this policy.

Setting aside though any philosophical or theoretical intention a policy may have, it is interpreted then applied in the real world where often unexamined assumptions underpin action. While Christie (2003) stresses that care was taken that the

benchmarks should not operate as a behavioural check list, they were presented in a format that was suggestive of that very purpose. A text presented as prose then illustrated, if required, with bullet points could perhaps have been more likely to invite interpretation. In contrast, the grids imply thinking and categorization had taken place by knowledgeable others who had taken decisions as to the placing and separation of one concept from another as the Expected Features were contained within, what could be thought of, both figuratively and literally, as cells. Mediation and construction of meaning, moving between cells to create spaces for interpretation and connection then required crossing boundaries. While academics in Higher Education Institutions designing ITE programmes may have been confident to cross boundaries, Student Teachers tentatively engaged in early self-evaluation may not have been. Furthermore, it is seldom disputed that Student Teachers find it difficult to value the importance and interconnectedness of study in the academy with their practice in schools. Further deconstructing and disconnecting what it is to be a teacher was unlikely to prompt holistic thinking at any level. Encouraged to adopt a reductive understanding of what it is to be a teacher, compliance with discrete competences seems more likely.

The grid format is also adopted in the 2006 version of the SITE (GTCS, 2006b). The 2006 SITE again begins by deconstructing professional development by ordering the three main aspects as:

Professional knowledge and understanding;
Professional skills and abilities;
Professional values and personal commitment

(GTCS, 2006b, p.5).

However, the Standard provides expanded prescription for professional skills and abilities, although again it is listed in a grid. Professional values and personal commitment are subordinated to final mention and, even then, they receive scant attention. Again though, this may support O'Brien *et al's*. (2007) claim that the lack of prescription implies confidence in Student Teachers' professional judgement and intellectual abilities to negotiate and interpret their own constructions of professional values.

Menter *et al.* (2010) suggest one can also find the construction of a Student Teacher as reflective in the 2006 SITE. Indeed, Student teachers are expected to take:

responsibility for and being committed to their own
professional development arising from professional enquiry
and reflection on their own and other professional practices
(GTCS, 2006b, p.3).

Yet while it can be argued that discernible among policy constructions are those of the Student Teacher as reflective or enquiring, it seems that these constructions are subsumed within the requirement overall that Student Teachers will be effective teachers (GTCS, 2006b).

In Scotland producing oneself as a Student Teacher in relation to the SITE must take place in order to gain a teaching qualification to become eligible for provisional registration with the GTCS (GTCS, 2010c). Newly qualified teachers then undertake a mandatory one year probationary period guided by the *Standard for Full Registration* (SFR) (GTCS, 2006a)⁸ as the McCrone Agreement significantly restructured induction into the teaching profession, and guaranteed Probationary Teachers⁹ a one-year, reduced contact, 0.7 Full Time Equivalent (FTE), teaching contract, with the remaining 0.3FTE to be used for professional development.

I now analyse policy constructions of the teacher in the SFR, the standard relevant to Probationers and to Class Teachers. I suggest that the policy construction of the Class Teacher reflects that of the Student Teacher as an effective teacher. I point to the increasing prescription in the SFR to suggest there is hesitancy that teachers can be trusted to interpret policy within the discourses preferred by opinion shapers. I illustrate my argument with reference to some aspects of the SFR.

Policy constructions of the Class Teacher in Scotland

Before I go further, I draw attention to my use of the term Class Teacher (CT) rather than Registered Teacher. In Scotland, all teachers, Class Teachers (CTs), Chartered

⁸ I provide a full reference here for the *Standard for full registration* but hereafter will refer to the policy only as the SFR.

⁹ Probationary Teachers are known in the teaching profession as Probationers; hereafter I will refer to Probationers by this more commonly adopted term.

Teachers and Head Teachers alike, must be registered with the GTCS. However, teachers who have neither official managerial responsibility nor enhanced status are known as Class Teachers rather than Registered Teachers. I therefore refer to these teachers by the term commonly adopted among the profession, Class Teachers.

The SFR was reviewed and republished in 2006, around the same time as the 2006 SITE. Echoing the reforms made to the SITE, comparable amendments were made to earlier versions of the SFR. Policy constructions which signal what it is to be a CT¹⁰ in Scotland now also takes the form of competences encapsulated in a grid, complete with detailed illustrative comments similar to those in the SITE (QAA, 2000; GTCS, 2006b).

The similarity of the SITE to the SFR was purposeful. To meet an expectation of coherence, it was suggested that the SFR would have to be based on the equivalent SITE (Christie, 2008) in order to join up the pathway from one to the other.

Furthermore, when it became clear there would be a new SITE, it is claimed (Purdon, 2003a; Christie, 2008) that the Scottish Executive (SE), indicated their preference for standards. In building the SFR on the earlier benchmarks, the day-to-day teaching of CTs became presented as a series of separable actions. The knowledge legitimised to carry out these actions was constructed as transportable, applicable to, and achievable by all teachers (McWilliam, 2002). A technicist discourse detailing normative performance has now become sanctioned by the GTCS in the SFR.

The GTCS as:

the independent professional body which maintains and enhances teaching standards and promotes and regulates the teaching profession in Scotland

(GTCS, 2010b),

has a complex role in teacher's lives. Both representing and regulating teachers could bring about conflicting responsibilities. However, in order to ensure the profession's standards were being maintained (Sutherland, 1999), the GTCS has

¹⁰ Unless otherwise stated my use of Class Teacher in this discussion includes Probationers as they too are Class Teachers.

sanctioned a reductive construction of the teacher. Due likely in part to an understandable concern to find a way to assure high standards of competent teaching, bold and critical consideration (Fenwick, 2010) of what good teaching and teacher learning could be, has been set aside in favour of a conservative option and the ability to engage in a high level of surveillance of teachers' work.

Yet in the 2002 SFR there seemed to be an implication, a trust, that CTs had an understanding of the links between their own learning and of the professional responsibility required to do their job well:

3 Professional Values and Personal Commitment

(numbers refer to bullet point order of the 'expected features' in the ITE Standard)

The Professional Standard	Illustrations of Professional Practice	Relationship to ITE Standard
3.2 Registered teachers take responsibility for their professional learning and development.	Registered teachers... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • show a commitment to self-evaluation and continuing professional development as key means to improving practice and widening areas of expertise • contribute and respond to changes in education policy and practices 	consolidate (1,2) extend (2)

(GTCS, 2002, p.26)

However, in the expansion of the illustrations of professional practice in the 2006 SFR what this might mean became more detailed. Being responsible requires compliance with increased prescription:

3 Professional Values and Personal Commitment

The Professional Standard	Illustrations of Professional Practice
3.2 Registered teachers take responsibility for their professional learning and development.	Registered teachers... <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • show a firm commitment to self-evaluation, lifelong learning and continuing professional development as key means to improving practice and widening areas of expertise; • show a professional commitment to meeting deadlines, seeking, accepting and acting upon constructive advice on progress; • productively contribute and respond to changes in education policies and practices; • work collegially with fellow teachers and others involved in the delivery of children's services on continuing professional development

(GTCS, 2006b, p.14)

Although the 2006 SFR could have given authority to ongoing professional learning as a deep and challenging construct, a restricted notion is indicated in which professional development is 'a key means to improving practice and widening areas of expertise' (GTCS, 2006a, p.14). Rather than paving the way and encouraging CTs to consider what education may be for and to be critical of education policy, the SFR requires that teacher learning improves action. CTs are encouraged to produce themselves as enactors of policy who 'productively contribute and respond to changes in education policies and practices' (GTCS, 2006a, p.14). Rather than reflecting Carr's (1993a) construction of the teacher as a policy and social critic, a construction of the teacher as one who upholds and shares the values of the policy discourse is advanced. Within this construction of the CT, contributing productively may mean contributing without dissent. To achieve this, teachers may be required to demonstrate 'organisational loyalty', to put aside their 'intellectual freedom' (Humes, 2010, p.1). Worryingly, demonstrating organisational loyalty may also require setting aside value based commitments to children in the interest of supporting a school or an EA.

So although a subordinate professional discourse can also be found in the 2006 SFR, any opportunity to progress agency and engage as a thinking professional (Humes, 2001) in the real world may, further constrained by EA target setting and HMIe inspection, be difficult to perform. Furthermore, defining competence to this level

encourages dependency, passivity and the taking away of responsibility for self-regulation rather than encouraging professionalism (cf. Chapter 3, p.48).

Yet while frequent reference is made as to how this standard relates to new teachers, there is scarce advice for teachers working within the SFR. Such brevity may hint towards the professional discourse that experienced teachers are being provided space to engage in autonomous thinking, to take some responsibility for how their learning needs will change over time. However, as we see in Chapters 7 (p.193) and 8 (p.225) due to the demands of school improvement targets and the influence of opinion shapers, this seemed not to be so for the teachers in this study.

However, not all CTs are guided by the SFR. Chartered Teachers (ChTs) are teachers who have embarked on an additional teaching qualification guided by the *Standard for Chartered Teacher* (SChT) (GTCS, 2009)¹¹. I now therefore discuss policy constructions of ChTs. I suggest that although the construction of a ChT as an intellectual enquirer can be found, that this performance is also subtly constrained by the need to be effective.

Policy constructions of teacher in Scotland: Chartered Teacher

Experienced CTs who are at the top of the pay scale and wish to remain in a classroom teaching role may choose to engage in further academic study leading to the professional award of ChT status (GTCS, 2009). This status brings a significantly enhanced salary (approx £7000 pa). Introduced as part of the improved career structure for CTs in the McCrone Agreement, ChT status was ‘to recognise and reward excellence in the classroom’ (SEED, 2000, p.20). The McCrone Report suggested this would encourage CTs to continue to improve and progress their career while remaining in the classroom.

The notion of career development is an important aspect of ChT, so evidence of continued learning is sought beyond ITE. To take account of teachers who had already engaged in significant CPD, the programme initially allowed accreditation of

¹¹ I provide a full reference here for the *Standard for Chartered Teacher* but hereafter will refer to the policy only as the SChT.

prior learning through a fast-track route. This route is no longer open (GTCS, 2010a). New applicants must follow the qualification route. A CPD portfolio is a pre-requisite for entry to the ChT programme. The SChT must then be achieved to gain the award. As long as a ChT does not change to a leadership and management pathway (SEED, 2002a), the SChT then guides what is expected of a ChT for the remainder of their career.

In comparison with the development of the SITE and SFR, the team charged with the development of the original SChT (SEED, 2002c) aimed to engage in an open and extensive consultation process driven by teachers' conceptions of the characteristics of a ChT (Kirk, Beveridge and Smith, 2003; Christie and O'Brien, 2005). To ensure all stakeholders held a participatory rather than merely a supportive role, no decisions were made until all responses from each consultation were fed into the debate. Purdon (2001), however, throws doubt on teachers' opportunity to engage with the debate in a meaningful way and suggests teachers were not sufficiently informed to make appropriate responses, thereby leaving the validity of the consultation in question. The importance of making clear the parameters for change within authentic consultation is stressed by Munn *et al.* (2004) otherwise, as they warn, consultation can be perceived as a placatory rather than a participative exercise. Purdon (2001), indicating perception of the consultation of ChT as placatory, adopts a cynical view claiming some form of engagement had to take place simply due to the optional nature of the ChT programme. The voice of teachers had to be seen to be heard, as ultimately they would be the voluntary consumers of the end product (Purdon, 2003a). Purdon (2003b) therefore claims the SChT still reflected SEED's pre-determined stance, as the consultation was simply used as a tool to validate policy. Debate regarding the fundamental suitability of whether or not standards were an appropriate means to define what it is to be a teacher and promote quality professional learning was again simply set aside. Christie (2008), however, attests to the fullness of the consultation. Christie (2008) stresses that by exploring conceptualisations of an accomplished teacher and through consideration of the qualities of enhanced teaching, a more complex construction of the ChT came about (Christie, 2008). However, debate has emerged both in academic circles (Reeves, 2009) and among ChTs themselves (Association of

Chartered Teachers Scotland (ACTS), 2011) as to the nature and purpose of the role and status of ChTs.

Due perhaps to the influence of the original consultation process, the dominant discourse in the SChT is claimed to be that of a professionally engaged, enthusiastic, advanced teacher (Williamson and Robinson, 2009; Reeves, 2009). This construction of the teacher can be closely aligned with Sachs' (2003) notion of an activist teacher (cf. Chapter 3, p.53). Yet in a framework alleged to provide coherence through a seamless learning journey (McNally, 2006), this may seem a disjuncture from the previously discussed notion of the effective teacher.

Although the SITE, the SFR and the SChT allegedly aim towards coherence, the three aspects of professional development become four key components in the SChT:

Professional values and personal commitments
Professional knowledge and understanding
Professional and personal attitudes and
Professional action

(GTCS, 2009, p.2).

Additionally, in the SChT, the reduction of teaching to a list of technical skills can seem less dominant as detail of professional action is subverted to final mention. However, the performance expected from a ChT is deconstructed and presented in the familiar grid which encapsulates the detail of the components. The tone in the 2009 version is also tempered and lacks the enthusiasm of the earlier 2002 version, reaffirming Kennedy's (2006) concern that the dominant SEED discourse of competence, benchmarks, quality indicators, quality assurance etc. and its unquestioned agenda has prevailed. Intriguingly though, perhaps due to the intent, authorship and consultation of the original, the discourse of teaching as a professional, intellectual and moral endeavour somewhat endures in the 2009 SChT subverting perhaps, any attempt to altogether define a standardised, auditable construction of accomplished teaching. Alternatively, however, it can seem that what it is to be a ChT, is simply to be a very effective CT:

1 Professional Values and Personal Commitments

The Standard for Chartered Teacher	Illustrations
The Chartered Teacher, having developed beyond the requirements of the Standard for Full Registration, demonstrates four central professional values and personal commitments:	The Chartered Teacher...
1.1 Educational and social values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demonstrates integrity and ethical practice and is committed to core educational and social values, such as equality, social justice and inclusion, and to pupils' cognitive, intellectual, personal, social, moral and cultural development.
1.2 Critical self-evaluation and development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is committed to enhanced performance. Practice is subject to regular self-review and there is a continuing search for new and improved ways of supporting pupils' learning through discussion including engaging in practitioner research.
1.3 Effectiveness in promoting learning in the classroom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is an accomplished, innovative teacher who demonstrates sustained enhanced and effective practice; • is a critically informed, reflective practitioner who systemically evaluates the nature and extent of impact achieved for learners and learning; • is strongly motivated to be effective in securing the well-being and educational progress of learners.

(GTCS, 2009, p.3)

While it may be that ChTs appear to be constructed within discourses of intelligent, reflective and enquiring teachers, they too seem to be constrained by the improvement discourse and the need, overall, to effectively bring about gains in pupils' learning (cf. Chapter 3, p.52).

Having discussed policy constructions of CTs and ChTs I now mention the *Standard for Headship* (SH) (SEED, 2005)¹². This discussion is brief though as only one of the women teacher participants (cf. Chapter 6, p.168) had openly expressed an interest in following a management career path, although another implied she had some interest in the management route (cf. Chapter 6, p.178). Neither teacher, however, had been actively pursuing the interest rather, in contrast, one had been

¹² I provide a full reference here for the *Standard for Headship* but hereafter will refer to the policy only as the SH.

pursuing ChT status. It seemed then that an interest in Headship had not been explicitly influencing the learning of either teacher at the time of the study. However, as Head Teachers (HTs) influence the perspectives and lives of teachers, it was useful to have some insight into the ideologies underpinning leadership in Scotland. For an in-depth discussion of Headship see O'Brien, Draper and Murphy (2008) who, based in their understandings and experience of Headship preparation, provide a detailed account of the policy developments and issues related to building leadership capacity in the Scottish context.

Policy constructions of the Head Teacher in Scotland

The SH sets out the competences required of those who wish to lead and manage schools in Scotland. Originally established in 1998 by the Scottish Office Education and Industry Department (SOEID), the aim of this standard was to ensure aspiring HTs would be properly trained to effectively lead and manage schools that were capable achieving the highest educational standards for children (O'Brien *et al.*, 2008). The Scottish Qualification for Headship (SQH) was based on the SH (SOEID, 1998b). An SQH aim was specifically to develop practice in order to meet the standard through academic qualification (O'Brien *et al.*, 2008).

Clearly stated in the amended 2002 version was a concern that HTs should reflect on their understanding of professional values along with their understanding of schools and Scottish education and take account of their intellectual paradigm when taking professional action. However, although this intellectual discourse is still present, a technicist discourse seems to dominate the 2005 competence based framework for Headship. Making clear aspirant HTs should have understanding of professional values, management functions and professional abilities (SOEID, 1998b) has given way in the 2005 version to description of concise professional actions focused firstly on management functions with elements of strategic vision, values and aims, knowledge and understanding and personal qualities with interpersonal skills listed later.

Consultation has begun again to re-revise the SH in Scotland. While at the time of writing this thesis there had been no announcement, due to the GTCS holding the other Standards, it seems reasonable that they may take ownership of the new version

in a tactical move to bring about further consistency. It will be interesting then to analyse what change in ownership may mean for policy constructions of a HT.

Having made brief mention of the SH in order to acknowledge it is part of the Framework, I next make brief mention of the *Framework for professional recognition: advice and guidance for teachers* (PR)(GTCS, 2007)¹³. Of note, with regard to this qualification, is that while it was discussed by the National CPD Co-ordinator for Scotland, the Director of Educational Policy (GTCS) and the representative from the SG during data construction, it was not mentioned by any of the study teachers.

Professional Recognition

Even though CPD has become a contractual obligation in Scotland, not all teachers wish to engage in academic study following full registration. Many teachers likely could advance their career beyond the classroom but choose not to. For those who wish to focus their learning around an area in which they have developed expertise, an opportunity exists for teachers to gain Professional Recognition/Registration (GTCS, 2007). However, although evidence must be gathered to demonstrate that a teacher has met the key components for PR before making a claim, PR is not a professional standard.

Where PR links to the CPD framework is not entirely clear (Kennedy *et al.*, 2008b). It may have stemmed from a request that CTs should gain recognition for enhanced expertise and practice along with an aim to expand the concept of CPD, as PR is portrayed as ‘provid[ing] a rich opportunity for learning’ (GTCS, 2007, p.13). MacIver (2008) suggests the concept of PR was an attempt to enable teachers to be responsive to the Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) (SG, 2009) and its demand for ‘more teaching across and beyond traditional subject boundaries’ (SEED, 2004, p.16). However, although competent teachers need knowledge and understanding of the current curriculum, if the only purpose of expertise is to implement the set

¹³ I provide a full reference here for the *Framework for professional recognition: advice and guidance for teachers* but hereafter will refer to the policy only as the PR.

curriculum, PR can be argued as endorsing a reductive notion of teaching, as Day indicates (2004, p.5), positioning teaching as a 'cluster of baseline technical skills'.

Perhaps in an unexamined, commonsense attempt to make clear how to apply for PR, the use of flow charts and grids again describes the professional actions required to receive PR: expert teaching is thus deconstructed to a series of actions. Driven by a managerial discourse and the need to provide evidence of impact to both practice and children's learning, an instrumental notion of enhanced expertise dominates PR.

Having highlighted both the dominant and subordinate discourses which shape and construct policy understandings of a teacher in the Standards, I now discuss some selected agencies that contribute to the support, regulation and monitoring of the teaching profession in Scotland.

Mechanisms of accountability

Although Doherty and McMahon (2007, p.251) assert:

The restructuring of teachers' work in Scotland, under the reforms of both the New Right and the New Left, has not exhibited the starkness and radical edge evident in the history of reform in England,

mechanisms of accountability, however, can be seen in operation at national, local and school level in Scotland (Reeves *et al.*, 2002).

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education

Quality assurance, since the inception of HMIE, has always been the largest area of the organisation's remit (Weir, 2008). Yet while it can be argued that good quality auditing achieves a balance between monitoring, assessment and finding evidence of good practice, HMIE is an organisation with aims at variance with one another. The discord between control and assistance can create tension.

Despite attempts to provide reassurance to the contrary (HMIE, 2007b), as:

a core function of HM Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) is to provide assurance and bring about improvement through inspection and review

(HM Senior Chief Inspector, 2008),

many teachers fear HMIe positioning them not as critical friends but as agents of control, as those who measure performance not to help but in order to judge and publicly report (Weir, 2008).

This fear may be understandable. Throughout the history of the Inspectorate, given the nature of their remit, a performativity discourse underpinned by the management of efficient performance and quality assurance has unsurprisingly dominated.

Playing down the power of external audit though, HMIe is keen to stress the place school self-evaluation plays, stating that ‘HM inspectors are aiming to confirm the school’s own self-judgments’ (HMIe, 2007b, p.6). Nevertheless, teacher agency in this process is limited. The ‘reflective professional process’ (HMIe, 2007b, p.6) must take place within the framework of quality indicators as defined by HMIe in *How good is our school (HIGIOS)* (HMIe, 2007b).

It is claimed one of the aims of *HIGIOS* (HMIe, 2007b) is to help teachers evaluate the quality of the education in their school. Schools and teachers are advised to consider the quality of their teaching through self-evaluation using the indicators that are used during school inspection (HMIe, 2007b). Schools are encouraged to recognize key strengths and identify areas where good quality practice needs to be maintained or where improvement is required.

Coffield and Edward (2009), however, draw attention to the need to question whose notion of good practice dominates. They also stress the need to question further, the taken-for-granted assumption that a common understanding and acceptance of good practice can exist. What should not be overlooked is that the policy discourse of HMIe, the rhetoric of impact and quality assurance as presented in *HIGIOS* (HMIe, 2007b) plays an influential role in shaping and privileging a notion of good practice (cf. Chapter 8, p.240).

In Scotland, the support and scrutiny of teachers’ work and shaping of teacher identity is not confined to the gaze of national agencies. Education Authorities, the local level of Scottish governance, play an important part in the formulation and implementation of educational policy and also play a role in assuring quality.

Education Authorities and Quality Improvement Officers

Education Authorities (EAs) are the local level of governance of Scottish education (Bloomer, 2003). The services and resources provided by EAs range widely as the statutory responsibilities of EAs are varied; from the provision of educational establishments to the employment and management of teaching and ancillary staff to the development and implementation of local education policy (Hunter, 1971).

EAs have historically provided a wide range of CPD opportunities for teachers. This provision has been made available through diverse sources, from internal and external providers including teachers and universities, to provision from commercial companies. In the main these courses, known among the profession as twilight courses, are traditionally held at the end of the teaching day and have been the dominant form of CPD provision.

However, at EA level the role of CPD and its relationship with quality improvement has changed over time. A level of scrutiny similar to, yet allegedly apart from, that of HMIe can now also be found in EAs in the altered role of Education Officers (EOs) to Quality Improvement Officers (QIOs) (Cameron, 2008).

The quality improvement agenda brought about significant change to a role that was once constructed as that of critical friend (Cameron, 2008). Since local government reorganisation in 1996, a managerial discourse has increasingly dominated the work of EAs in the form of quality improvement. Where previously the mainstay of EOs work was to support development, their role has changed significantly and their focus is now, like that of other professional bodies such as HMIe and the GTCS, rooted in quality improvement, performance monitoring (Boyd and Norris, 2006) and assessing competence. Yet, as Boyd and Norris (2006) stress, improvement and inspection suffer from conceptual confusion.

In the move from critical friend to quality improvement and performance monitoring, an underlying consistency in approach can be noted between national and local governance. This response was not unique to Scotland and reflects global pressures and policy responses to present modernisation agendas (Ozga, 2005). The quality improvement agenda has come to dominate the official conceptualisation of good

practice (cf. Chapter 8, p.240). While a concern with the outcomes of teacher performance is unsurprising at a time of financial constraint, it must be remembered that teaching and learning are complex, culturally rooted activities that take place in the social world. Moreover, isolating, identifying and measuring teachers' skills in a manner suitable for comparison within the improvement discourse are acknowledged as problematic (Ozga, 1995; Ball, 2003, 2006; Osgood, 2006). However, teachers in Scotland are subject to support through scrutiny by organisations both at national and local levels. At school level, teachers are also subject to the accountability gaze in the shape of school improvement targets and monitoring by school management teams.

School management and school improvement plans

School improvement planning, previously known as school development planning, is one of the devices introduced at a national level as a framework for managing change in Scotland (Jeyes, 2003) . It was thought that a greater emphasis on school self-evaluation would lead to the production of explicit performance targets that would contribute to improve standards and accountability.

However, Doherty and McMahon (2007, p.254) claim:

A retrospective reading of statements and publications emanating from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) and the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) and its predecessors, traces its [development planning's] emergence as a technology of control and conformity. ... This use of a compulsory development-planning framework has been accompanied by a parallel trend of central dictation of developmental priorities and their enforced insertion within the planning priorities of local authorities.

Reeves *et al.* (2002, p.96) concur claiming 'development plans for most schools are largely about compliance with centrally determined proprieties'. Both the performance of school managers and teachers come under scrutiny in school improvement targets. Although school managers may produce the plans, the plans must be audited at EA level to ensure they reflect the targets as set out in the EA's improvement plan before they are accepted. The expectation is that not only must

teachers be effective in their day-to-day teaching but that school management teams must also be efficient in monitoring and assuring quality improvement across their schools. In order then to be effective, armed with statistical information supplied by their EA and the SG analysing pupil attainment in their school (Doherty and McMahon, 2007), and encouragement from HMIe to engage in school self-evaluation (2007b), school managers increasingly engage in surveillance of teachers at work (MacDonald, 2004). The discourse of improvement and ‘an official narrative of the good school’ (Doherty and McMahon, 2007, p.256) would locate this practice as appropriate in order to improve standards but ‘such practices look to locate ownership of emerging deficiency, inadequacy and underperformance’ (Doherty and McMahon, 2007, p.256) with teachers.

The discourse of derision or enduring trust?

Throughout the modernisation process in England, the voice of teachers has been absent from education policy (Ball, 2001). Policy has been driven by an alleged belief that pupil achievement has not been as high as it ought to be and that schools, and therefore teachers were to blame. The ‘discourse of derision’ (Ball, 2001, p.17) has eroded belief and trust in teachers and education reform has been designed to ensure teaching and its outcomes can be managed and controlled. An accountability culture features in England and affords little space for teachers to take responsibility for pedagogy and exercise the professional knowledge that may require action outwith protocols detailed to bring about administrative control (Elliot, 2004). By contrast, in Scotland a belief exists that education reform appears to be based on the continued trust that teachers make appropriate professional judgments and do their jobs well (Menter *et al.*, 2004). The high level of support and trust in the quality and professionalism of teachers was among the main themes emerging from the *National Debate on Education* in Scotland (Munn, 2002; Munn *et al.*, 2004). However, what it is to be a teacher, and trusted to be a professional, is complex. Indeed, Doherty and McMahon (2007) counter there is little evidence of such trust in the current restructuring of teachers’ work in Scotland.

Summary

Scotland is not unique in recognising the importance of teachers' professional learning. Wider international interest in transforming education, in part through teachers' professional learning, is evident in many Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries including Australia (Sachs, 2003) and the USA (Zeichner, 2003) along with England (Mahony *et al.*, 2004) and Wales (Lyle, 2003). Positively, a universal desire to improve children's attainment can be found in the drives for reform (SG, 2009; 2010; United States of America Department of Education, 2010). Evident too is a shared policy discourse. A notion dominates that setting priorities and establishing measuring goals will lead to enhanced education. Yet at the same time, a contradictory discourse can be found. This discourse stresses that reducing teaching to a list of benchmark competences is likely to lead to a simplistic, impoverished construction of what it is to be a teacher. The increasing dominance of the teacher as the effective technician is a deeply held concern among those who aim to further understand how to improve children's attainment (Day and Sachs, 2004b; Apple, 2006; Forde *et al.*, 2006).

Yet, while approaches to teacher reform may be similar, local aspects of culture and traditions regarding education and schooling also play significant roles in how the approaches are adopted and in the resulting outcomes (Menter *et al.*, 2006).

Although an interplay between global trends in teacher workforce modernisation may seem apparent, Ozga (2005) stresses the variability of the lived nature of response and resistance to change and its embeddedness at local levels. However, as we see in Chapters 6-8 the belief that there could be a uniquely Scottish response at lived level seemed, like the distinctiveness of the Scottish education policy response, to be more mythical than founded.

Having introduced and discussed the Scottish policy context, in the next chapter I consider academic literatures, specifically those relating to teacher professionalism, teacher learning and to women as teachers.

Chapter 3

Setting the Scene: prior scholarship

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed aspects of the McCrone Report and Agreement which are influential in shaping teachers' learning in Scotland. I analysed the professional Standards. I suggested that, although there is evidence of policy constructions of a teacher as an intellectual enquirer and a teacher as reflective that overall, the dominant policy construction is that of an effective teacher. I pointed to mechanisms of accountability at national, local and school levels as evidence of the increased use of performativity to regulate teachers in Scotland.

In this chapter, I introduce the theoretical perspectives that underpin my understanding of Primary Teachers' learning in Scotland at this time. I refer to the selected literatures in three sections. Section I relates to teacher professionalism, section II deals with teacher learning, while section III focuses on women as teachers.

My approach when designing this review was guided by Schram (2006, p.161), who advises a literature review should:

critically uncover [rather] than exhaustively cover what is relevant and what is problematic among the ideas circling around your enquiry. ... In other words make sure that the concepts and theories in the literature are serving your purposes and not the other way around.

The aim of this investigation of literatures was not to provide an exhaustive, impartial, systematic review that listed an array of unconnected educational studies. Having depicted my topic in the Scottish context, I now compose my argument as it relates to specific literatures (Schram, 2006), to chart the landscape regarding teacher learning. So while this chapter begins to frame my argument, other work will be introduced throughout this thesis on a 'when-and-as-needed-basis' (Wolcott, 2009, p.68). For example, literature specifically relating to my theoretical framework is

introduced in Chapter 4 (p.98) while in Chapter 5 (p.121) I introduce the methodological and methods literatures.

Exploring the literature

I began my exploration of prior scholarship by carrying out electronic searches using Dialog DataStar (Dialog, No publication date-a, b), an online search engine which searches across the Australian Education Index, the British Education Index and Education Resources Information Centre databases. These databases index internationally, journals and technical literatures in the field of education (Edinburgh University Information Services, 2010). My investigation of the literatures took place on three levels.

The aim of the first level of my investigation was to explore thinking around teacher learning. I began by entering broad search terms such as CPD, professional learning and professional development to identify potentially useful journal articles and texts. In a similar manner, I searched for authors with interests in these and seemingly related areas. Initially, I limited the search parameter to literature published from 1997 onwards, locating at that time publications within the previous 10 years. As my interest became more focused on Primary School teachers' understandings and experiences of professional learning, my searches too became more focused.

I was very selective in reviewing papers researching High School teachers. I included only those where High School was the context rather than the focus of the research. For example, I retained work by Harrison and Dymoke (2008) as their research investigated reflective teaching and learning rather than the pedagogies of Secondary School teachers but rejected a paper by Little (2002), as the influence of subject departments in inhibiting or strengthening change is a significant focus of Little's research. Little's findings therefore are reliant on the setting of a High School and so were not relevant to my study.

In this way, I identified potentially useful sources and identified researchers whose thinking was of interest to me; researchers who had explored the relationships between teacher learning and teacher professionalism, along with consideration of what it is to learn. Day (1997), Eraut (2000c), Guskey (2000), Kennedy (2005),

Mahony, Hextall and Menter (2004) and Sachs (2001) significantly influenced my thinking in these areas. However, although I note their influence in shaping my thinking, this does not indicate that I adopted an uncritical stance. My thinking diverged notably from that of Guskey's.

During 2008, two large-scale research programmes investigating teaching and learning, and so relevant to this study, were underway. In Scotland, the Applied Education Research Scheme (Applied Educational Research Scheme [AERS], 2007b) and across the UK, the Teaching and Learning Research Programme (Teaching and Learning Research Programme [TLRP], 2007c). The research projects of most interest to me were Teachers as learners (AERS, 2007a), Enhanced competence-based learning in the early professional development of teachers (EPL) (TLRP, 2007b) and Early career learning at work: LINEA (TLRP, 2007a). I regularly checked the respective research project websites to stay informed by their most recent publications.

Having adopted this approach to identify general sources, my approach then became that of following trails through relevant literatures in order to examine pertinent studies more closely. I then began to include literature published earlier than 1997 if it seemed very influential (Menter *et al.*, 2010) and set aside papers which seemed to connect less with the constructs I was interested in understanding and theorising.

However, although I have followed convention and report the process of searching the literature here at the beginning of my thesis, as I adopted a Grounded Theory approach for data construction (cf. Chapter 5, p.125), the earliest stage of literature investigation focused on developing an awareness of sensitising concepts (cf. Chapter 5, p.127). Rather than locating a body of literature which would define or restrict my thinking, I aimed to stimulate my thinking throughout this study. I therefore sought out seemingly significant literature before, during and following data construction. In this way, I remained open to constructing and reconstructing my theoretical propositions.

By adopting this iterative approach to investigating the literature while constructing data, I was able to take account of the theoretical significance of gender. Although

gender had not been an area I was especially interested in at the very earliest stages of the study (Munn and O'Brien, 2007), the issue of gender was one which I had intermittently grappled with but then let go (Schram, 2006). However, as my construction of data progressed I began to understand gender as a theoretical construct with significance in the social world I was researching and so I became more focused on the teachers as women.

Adopting the approach outlined above, I then searched feminist literatures. I found the work of feminist educationalists such as Paechter (1998) and McDonald (2004) to be key in stimulating my interest. Francis' (1998) work was influential in developing my understanding of the importance of gender during schooling.

My investigation of the literature thus came to be focused in three main areas: teacher professionalism, teacher learning and women as teachers.

However, my analysis of the literature had also taken account of the epistemological and ontological framings of the studies. This second level of analysis helped me to understand more clearly my own perspective, which I detail in Chapter 5 (p.121).

Developing my understanding of how academics use theoretical constructs as conceptual frameworks was the third and final level of my literature analysis. At this level, I became aware of how the work of eminent sociologists and philosophers can provide conceptual frameworks which can be used as thinking tools to explain and understand the social world. Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002) were key in introducing me to the work of Bourdieu, while Reay's (2004, p.432) discussion of 'habitus' was notable in advancing my understanding of how Bourdieu's thinking could be applied. Skelton and Francis' (2009) discussion of the use of feminist perspectives was also particularly informative. I chart my conceptual journey fully in Chapter 4 (p.98).

While the following term is often used in discussion of teachers and teaching, by both opinion shapers and the wider public when discussing teaching and teachers, its use in relation to teachers can be thought of as problematic. With this in mind, I next discuss professionalism.

SECTION I - Professionalism

Introduction

The rhetoric of education reform in Scotland seemingly advances the notion of teaching as a profession. The McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001, p.5) claims the new CPD framework for teachers ‘promotes professionalism’. This is an unsurprising assertion when an underlying concern of the McCrone Committee was to address the perceived erosion of the professionalism of teaching (SEED, 2000; Doherty and McMahon, 2007). Yet what it is to be a professional and so the very notion of professionalism is much contested. The positioning of teaching as a profession with its own system of professional values or as a set of competences requiring a definable set of skills lies at the very heart of the debate around teacher professionalism (Carr, 1993b; Christie, 2003). Discussion regarding conceptualisations of professionalism therefore continues and is often prompted in response to educational reform and how it influences teacher identity and teacher learning (Sachs, 2001; Purdon, 2003a; Kennedy, 2007; Gewirtz *et al.*, 2009).

I begin my analysis of teacher professionalism by discussing traditional constructions of professionalism and then move to discuss some present policy constructions.

The traditional professional triad: knowledge, autonomy and responsibility

Day (1999, p.96) claims there is difficulty in conceptualising what constitutes a profession as ‘professions are more easy to instance than define’. Carr (2003), from a philosophical perspective, suggests that while everyday use of the term professional may mean plumbers can achieve professional standards in their work that this may be insufficient to claim to belong to a profession. Evetts (2009) concurs, explaining the discourse of professionalism has differing interpretations which have developed over time.

Traditionally knowledge, autonomy and responsibility were three interrelated concepts central to a notion of professionalism (Furlong, 2000, cited in Sachs, 2001, p.150). As a specialised body of knowledge creates unique forms of expertise, the more specialised the knowledge, the more power is inscribed in the professional

(Eraut, 1994). It thus seemed appropriate for those holding specialised knowledge to be able to make autonomous judgements as and when required. It was furthermore accepted that professional values guided responsible, informed decision making (Furlong, 2005). The power inscribed by the traditional professional ideology meant, therefore, that professional judgements were seldom challenged (Eraut, 1994).

In the past doctors, lawyers and clergymen, who were gentlemen and so trusted also in part due to their class, belonged to the professions. This further emphasised that professionals were ‘privileged, high-status, high-income occupational groups’ (Evetts, 2009, p.20). However, Hoyle and John (1995) now include teachers as professionals. That the professional class may now include not only women but also teaching is an interrelated and important aspect of this thesis.

Hoyle and John (1995) claim teachers demonstrate responsibility by ensuring the needs of students are met but that often a set of values and beliefs rather than external accountability guides this notion of responsibility. Currently though, teachers are subject to increasing external accountability (Evetts, 2009) so indicators of professionalism have become blurred. Contemporary education professionals must now withstand the gaze of public scrutiny (cf. Chapter 2, p.38). They must account for their actions within new discourses of control and conformity (Doherty and McMahon, 2007). This tension between the discourse of the teacher as the autonomous professional and the discourse of the teacher as the regulated technician is also an important point for this thesis given the ways identity influences engagement with learning (cf. Chapter 7, p.193). Sachs (2001, p.151) rightly insists ‘discourses set the limits of what can be said, thought and done’.

When attempting to redefine teacher professionalism, Kennedy (2007) cautions though against simplistic debate of old and new forms. In a bid to be clearer about the ideologies underpinning alternative constructions, Hargreaves (2006) claims new teacher professionalism may now be more positive, principled and postmodern. Kennedy (2007, p.96) however, warns ‘there is also evidence of a less “principled” discourse in action’ in new professionalism.

Education reform: reconstructing teacher professionalism

In a comparison of policy-making and educational reform in Scotland and England, Menter, Mahony and Hextall (2004) formed the view that in Scotland, educational reform appeared to be based on the continued trust that teachers make appropriate professional judgements to do their jobs well. Although recognising there are some performative elements, Menter (2009, p.221-222) claims that ‘there were also many attempts within the [McCrone] agreement to foster professional autonomy and responsibility of teachers.’ That said, the extent to which these attempts have been realised is contested by Doherty and McMahon (2007, p.254) who counter the:

growing plethora of policy exhortations, requirements and priorities. [in the shape of] ... development planning, statistical monitoring and self-evaluation

point to the nature of Scotland’s performativity regime and the construction of the teacher as a professional albeit as ‘defined by others’ (Doherty and McMahon, 2007, p.256).

HMIe’s contribution to reconstructing teacher’s professionalism takes, in part, the form of an epidemic of publications (HMIe, 2011b). HMIe would likely position their intervention, and these publications, as tools to encourage and support change. The publications detail how schools can evaluate what is happening in their classrooms (HMIe, 2007b), how they can rate its success (HMIe, 2007b) and what they should do to bring about effective improvement (HMIe, 2011c). However, the paternalistic, ‘HMIe knows best’, tone of the ‘tools’ allows little space for teachers to dissent, to do other than be:

guided towards internalizing the language and topography of what constitutes a good school, and to conceive of their professional world with reference to such horizons
(Doherty and McMahon, 2007, p.256).

Yet Menter *et al.* (2004) continue to sound a positive note, suggesting due to variations in underlying philosophies, governance in Scotland has not curtailed professional autonomy and decision making to the levels experienced in England (Ball, 2003). Doherty and McMahon (2007) are less convinced. They insist

Scotland's notion of professionalism for teachers requires acceptance of increasing surveillance and of increasing accountability of practice through both internal and external measures.

In contrast to the aforementioned studies which discuss policy making with a view to reviewing outcomes, MacDonald (2001) adopts a feminist lens to explore policy mediation and enactment from the perspective of a group of women Primary Teachers.

In a review of teachers' reactions to changes to their pay and working conditions, MacDonald (2001) claims that the teachers were unable to resist the policy discourse. Although MacDonald's (2001) study teachers seemed to lack enthusiasm for the McCrone Agreement, they did not openly express dissent. Instead, they seemed to accept, albeit wearily, that the rhetoric of professionalism was no more than 'a device for manipulating teacher behaviour' (MacDonald, 2001, p.41). From a hegemonic perspective, the women's compliant behaviour was in part, complicit in bringing about their perceptions of the erosion of their autonomy in the classroom (MacDonald, 2001). Like the participants in Moore's study (2006), which aimed to gain fuller understanding of the relationships between individual agency and social structures, the teachers when compelled to accept 'unpopular' (Moore, 2006, p.489) policy, 'did not want to rock the institutional boat' (Moore, 2006, p.497).

The power then inscribed in policy can at the same time claim to promote professionalism yet act to erode teacher autonomy. This raises questions as to what professionalism may mean for teachers in their day-to-day practice.

Traditionally an aspect of teacher autonomy was related to the possession of subject and pedagogic knowledge. Teachers made decisions about what to teach and how to teach it, along with when and how to assess it (Furlong, 2005). Furlong (2005, p.120) claims 'new professionalism', in contrast, marked a move from individual to 'managed professionalism'. Teachers as deliverers, rather than developers of curriculum, dominates this model of professionalism (Alexander, 2004). While Furlong (2005) comments critically on the English context, Forde *et al.* (2006) similarly suggest that ownership of the 5-14 curriculum in Scotland 'shifted from

teachers to government' (Forde *et al.*, 2006, p.21). Governmental control has become 'a necessary part of the "modernization" ' of teacher professionalism (Forde *et al.*, 2006, p.19). Teacher professionalism in Scotland as Doherty and McMahon (2007) assert, seems to be subject to increased, albeit subtle, central control. Noteworthy is that this control operates to constrain teachers' autonomy both individually and collectively (Furlong, 2005).

Scotland, at the time of the study, was undergoing curriculum reform. Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) (SG, 2009) was at the early stages of implementation across the nation amid claims of increased professional autonomy (SG, 2006). Teachers it is claimed, in a study examining teachers' perspectives on CfE reform, would be able to work with a 'looser curriculum' (Baumfield, Hulme, Livingston and Menter, 2010, p.57). Baumfield *et al.*, (2010, p.57), however, point out that the teachers who piloted the draft curriculum were 'more wholehearted in their disposition towards the new curriculum and its associated pedagogy'. In contrast, teachers who engaged in general consultation, through the completion only of questionnaires, were not so committed. Based on that evidence, what the reform will mean to those who have had no voice leads to uncomfortable speculation. The extent to which the re-professionalising claims of the CfE (SG, 2006, 2009) will be realised seems questionable, when the dominant policy discourse continues to lie with developing the technical role of teaching rather than advancing profession wide autonomy (Purdon, 2001).

Having discussed notions of professionalism, I now move to discuss the influence of teacher professionalisms on teacher identity.

Connecting paradigms of professionalism with teacher identity

The discourse of 'new' professionalism (Sachs, 2003, p.7) claims professionalism is dynamic in nature and can be subject to multiple interpretations (Kennedy, 2007; Evetts, 2009). Academic literature offers a number of models for new professionalism (Hargreaves, 1998; Day, 1999; Sachs, 2003; Moore, 2004). I focus, however, only on the few that are relevant to building an understanding of the experiences of the women who took part in this study.

Sachs (2001), commenting from an Australian perspective, proposes two competing discourses shape teacher professionalism. Managerial professionalism, the more dominant, is a top-down model underpinned by organizational change (Sachs, 2001) and the need to be more efficient (Day and Sachs, 2004b). Based on the ideology of the school effectiveness movement (cf. Chapter 2, p.14), effectiveness and accountability characterise managerial professionalism (Sachs, 2001).

In contrast, democratic professionalism (Sachs, 2001) is characterised by bottom-up, collaborative and co-operative action and is driven by the aim to bring about improvement from the profession itself. Democratic professionalism can provide an alternative to governmental control, as it seeks to demystify professional work (Apple, 1996) due to its emphasis on collaborative action between teachers and educational stakeholders.

Sachs (2001) further proposes two contrasting professional identities emerge in relation to the previously mentioned discourses. Entrepreneurial professionalism is underpinned by the managerial discourse while activist professionalism is underpinned by the democratic discourse. Characterised as competitive, controlling and regulative, the entrepreneurial identity is externally defined. Individualism and enterprise define entrepreneurial professionals (Sachs, 2001; Ball, 2003). In contrast, the activist identity is democratic, enquiry-oriented, collegial and committed to social justice and equity (Sachs, 2003). However, Kondo (1990, cited in Sachs, 2001, p.154) asserts that identity is not fixed. Rather, it is discursively constructed, open, shifting, ambiguous and related to cultural contexts (Davies, 2004a).

Moore (2004, p.26) also is concerned with socio-cultural contexts and draws attention to situatedness as 'actions are both historically/socially produced and historically/socially contextualised'. Yet although identifying discourses of professionalism contributed to conceptual clarity, alertness was also maintained regarding the taken-for-granted assumptions produced by these socially constructed concepts (Moore, 2004). Considering the overlap in discourses of professionalism therefore seemed to create spaces that were more useful in understanding the lived experience of being a professional than was offered by discrete theoretical categorisation.

In a comprehensive review of literature on teacher education commissioned by the *Review of Teacher Education in Scotland* (LTS, 2010), Menter *et al.* (2010, p.21) claim four ‘influential “paradigms” of teacher professionalism’ underpin current policy and research literature. Although presented as discrete models, Menter *et al.* (2010) draw attention to the compatible nature of three of the four paradigms namely the reflective, enquiring and transformative models.

Effective Teacher

In keeping with Sachs (2001), Menter *et al.* (2010) point to the effective teacher as the dominant construct within the policy discourse. They agree that technical accomplishment through measures of accountability and performativity is emphasised in this model. Technical competence is important when being trained to be an effective teacher (Moore, 2004). Menter *et al.* (2010, p.21) claim this model has a positive appeal model for taxpayers as it:

emphasises the opportunity for all pupils to achieve to their best potential and subsequently contribute to the economy and society.

This reference to taxpayers adds weight to the claim that the construct of the effective teacher is externally defined and further draws attention to the teachers’ lack of agency in this model.

Of further note regarding this model are links with hegemonic power through the construction of the rational teacher (Dillabough, 2006). Dillabough (2006) stresses the legitimization of masculine, rational thought in the production of the effective teacher. A rational ability to behave competently, regulates the role of the teacher within neo-liberal concerns which are focused on the external outcomes of the market economy (Dillabough, 2006). Rather than making ‘meaningful connections with students’ (Dillabough, 2006, p.378) within the realm of caring (Noddings, 2003) and social experience, the effective teacher it required to ‘commit to standardized procedures which are created by an objective body of so called “experts” ’(2006, p.379).

In contrast with the effectiveness model, which Menter *et al.* (2010) claim is politically defined, reflective, enquiring and transformative constructions of the teacher are located more within the teaching profession and the site of teacher education. Furthermore, unlike the effectiveness model, reflective, enquiring and transformative professionalisms can be thought of as complementary and overlapping rather than as competing models.

Reflective teacher

Based in the philosophical thinking of John Dewey (2006), the reflective teacher was conceptualised by Schön (1983). This conceptualisation stresses the importance of values and of the place of theory in decision-making. The reflective teacher is one whose reflective action stems ‘not from problems to be solved but problematic situations’ (Schön, 1983, p.15-16). Like Dewey, Schön (1983) and later Pollard and Tann (1987) explain that the reflective teacher focuses on an awareness of the self, of practice and of theory which leads to change through self-evaluation of the process of practice. In adopting a cyclical approach to planning, making provision, acting, collecting data, analysing the data, evaluating and reflecting, reflective teachers are able to plan for change in professional practice by aiming to improve the quality of pupil learning (Pollard and Tann, 1987; Dymoke and Harrison, 2008).

A high level of autonomy is, however, required when performing this model as it places teachers as central actors who avoid ‘sets of beliefs, attitudes, dispositions, and practices that inhibit reflection’ (Simpson, 2006, p.22). ‘Rather than looking to external sources for answers, individual practitioners are enjoined to look within themselves through a process of reflection’ (Taylor, 2003, p.246).

Harrison (2004) claims reflective practice is an important activity for teacher learning and development. As teaching is an intellectual activity, Dymoke and Harrison (2008) believe the conditions for teacher agency can be created through critical reflection which challenges socially dominant assumptions. However, Taylor (2003) cautions that due to the subjective nature of reflective practice there is a need to consider the narrative structure of reflection-on-action and be aware that ‘reality is textually constructed’ (Atkinson, 1990, cited in Taylor, 2003, p.250). Importantly, although acknowledging the potential benefits of thoughtful reflection, Forde *et al.*

(2006) note the power of dominant discourses. If reflection is unproblematically advanced as a means to becoming a good teacher, reflection too can become a means to restrict autonomy if it takes place within a narrow, externally defined framework. Forde *et al.* (2006, p.76) also caution:

It is also important to recognize forms of reflective practice which become confessional and which focus too much on individual change, rather than on individual development within a professional context.

Menter *et al.* (2010) suggest research may potentially provide a context for reflection. They draw attention to the complementary nature of the reflective, the enquiring and transformative notions of professionalism as more subjectively based ontological conceptions of social reality.

Enquiring teacher

Research based teaching lies at the heart of professionalism as advanced by Stenhouse (1975, p.142), who introduced the notion of the ‘teacher as a researcher’. Stenhouse claims (1975) curriculum research and development ought to belong to teachers engaged in classroom enquiry. Menter *et al.* (2010) note the enquiring teacher may, therefore, be well-suited to development of CfE (SG, 2009) as enquiring teachers are those who undertake research in their own classrooms to develop their practice then, importantly, share their understandings with others.

The ChT scheme (Reeves, 2009) is the Scottish model of legitimised teacher enquiry. Action research is the sanctioned method for enquiry when studying for the SChT (GTCS, 2009). Williamson and Robinson (2009) stress the importance of professional enquiry and action research in achieving the SChT (GTCS, 2009) and claim the enquiring teacher can be closely aligned with the democratic and activist (Sachs, 2003) conceptualisations of teacher professionalism and identity. Intriguingly, Menter *et al.* (2010, p.24) suggest ‘it may be possible for the enquiring teacher to be compatible with the effective teacher’. Yet the extent to which teachers could own or direct their research, within the restriction of the accountability and performativity framework which constrains and directs the effective teacher (cf. Chapter 2, p.23 and p.38), can be questioned.

Transformative teacher

Menter *et al.*'s. (2010) fourth and final model of professionalism is that of transformative professionalism. This model articulates with Sachs' (2003) model which was discussed earlier in this section. This construction of the teacher as professional is of one who 'should be contributing to social change and be preparing their pupils to contribute to change in society' (Menter *et al.*, 2010, p.24).

Attempting to define professionalism and the influence it may have on identity, agency and action was complex, but played an important part in my aim to understand teacher's experiences and understandings. Being a professional, a teacher, is a lived experience. People, with personal qualities and dispositions developed through experience in the social world, mediate and live theoretical conceptualisations of professionalism. Personal characteristics along with professional characteristics therefore also seemed to be important aspects of teachers' identities (Forde *et al.*, 2006).

Having highlighted selected constructions of teacher professionalism and their connectedness with teacher identity, I now discuss how identities located in the personal domain can also influence professional identity.

Advancing notions of professionalism: alternative discourses

Personal characteristics receive less mention (Sutton and Wheatley, 2003) when defining professionalism. This is unsurprising as exploring personal characteristics often necessitates consideration of emotion, and emotion is largely denigrated (Barr, 1999). Indeed 'when we say someone is "emotional" we usually mean irrational' (Sutton and Wheatley, 2003, p.328). Emotion is not a construct which sits well with the current dominant technicist discourse and the notion of effective teaching as a rational, logical endeavor (Bottery and Wright, 2000).

In a bid to counter the dominant discourse of teaching as an observable construct, Atkinson and Claxton (2000) draw attention to the place of intuition in teaching. They explore:

the relationship between articulate/rational/explicit and inarticulate/intuitive/implicit ways of knowing and learning in the context of adult professional practice and development.
(Atkinson and Claxton, 2000, p.1)

Atkinson and Claxton (2000) claim that dominant ways of knowing and learning have come to undermine other forms of knowledge. Intuition, however, has a long tradition as a form of ‘practical wisdom’ (Smith cited in Furlong, 2000, p.28); a construct which draws on Aristotle’s concept of ‘phronesis’ (Furlong, 2000, p.28). Phronesis is based around the ability to make the right decision in difficult circumstances. However, in a climate particularly concerned with action, with an observable construct of teaching, the intangibility of practical wisdom somewhat renders intuition alone, ill-suited for accountability of professional practice (Furlong, 2000). Rationalism within the accountability discourse demands explanation not only of what has been done, but also an explicit explanation of why. Eraut (2000a, p.265), however, insightfully points out, an absence of intuition ‘would turn classrooms into cognitive and interpersonal deserts’ so ‘intuition therefore needs to take its place *alongside* rationalism and the constant need for critical discourse; it cannot be seen as a substitute for either’ (Furlong, 2000, p.29, emphasis in the original).

The intuitive teacher

The intuitive practitioner is one who uses both the tools of reason and intuition to teach in real life situations. The intuitive practitioner copes with the complexity of the social world of the classroom by bringing together theoretical propositions intuitively as tacit (Eraut, 2000c) knowledge-in-action (Atkinson, 2000). Eraut (2000b, c) explains, however, that tacit knowledge by its very nature is important but difficult to research. Eraut (2000c, p.133) suggests that tacit knowledge is:

- knowledge acquired by implicit learning of which the knower is unaware;
- knowledge constructed from the aggregation of episodes on long-term memory;
- knowledge inferred by observers to be capable of representation as implicit theories of action, personal constructs, schemas, etc;
- knowledge which enables rapid, intuitive understanding or response;
- knowledge entailed in transferring knowledge from one situation to another; and
- knowledge embedded in taken-for-granted activities, perceptions and norms.

Of note is Atkinson's (2000) claim that that intuition needs to be nurtured, that the confidence to trust one's own professional judgements may not be well developed at the start of a teaching career.

The caring teacher

Advancing the proposition that professionalism requires more than a set of competences, Carr (1993b, 2003) asserts teaching is a moral practice. While it is important to maintain a set of skills which allow the practice of teaching to take place, Carr (2003) believes caring is also important in teaching. Kind teachers provide a sense of security that allows children to take risks in order to learn. Carr (2003) goes further by suggesting that caring may even be considered an occupational virtue and questions the suitability of a theoretically knowledgeable educational expert as teacher if they lack caring qualities. Also adopting a values-based understanding of professionalism, the students in Forde *et al's*. (2006, p.38) study considered:

commitment to the job, understanding and caring for pupils, respect, compassion, dedication, dependability, personal and professional integrity and the importance of personal values and belief systems

to be among the professional characteristics required for the work of teaching. These characteristics suggest that behind the traditional, rational constructs of knowledge lies 'the emotional practice of teaching' (Hargreaves, 1998, p.835).

Intuitive and caring dispositions therefore seemed important in constructing alternative discourses of professionalism. Importantly, these personal qualities could bring balance to notions of professionalism which focus on knowledge and skill (Hargreaves, 1998), on the rational and observable. However, as caring for pupils is often a characteristic attributed to women and elementary teachers, it is frequently marginalized and even ignored (Hargreaves, 1998; Noddings, 2003). As caring is an important proposition in this thesis, I return to discuss caring again in Chapter 6 (p.172).

The courageous teacher

In a bid to advance what will be required from teachers as professionals, Mockler (2005) proposes trust, risk-taking, integrity and courageous leadership as important qualities in shaping new professionalism. Patrick *et al.* (2003), however, consider the McCrone Committee missed an opportunity to reconstruct what Scotland expects of teachers as professionals in the future. Contrary to the provocative advice of Fenwick (2010, p.29) who suggests the re-professionalisation of teaching will require ‘teaching to be more bold, rude and risky’, Patrick *et al.* (2003) claim Scotland adopted a timid (Fenwick, 2010) approach to professionalism, reducing it to a narrow conceptualisation within a framework of performance management.

Section summary

A number of models of professionalism underpinned by varied philosophies had thus come to my notice. Due to my experience as a teacher, some of the described constructs had resonated more strongly than others did. With more understanding of how professionalism could influence or constrain teachers’ action, I pondered on the desirability of one identity rather than another and what teaching could look like if only one model was to dominate to the exclusion of all others. Prompted by Tickle (2001, p.161) I thought more about ‘what kinds of teachers we should have’. Yet Munn (2011) had wisely advised against dichotomous thinking. From my investigation of the literature, what constituted professionalism in Scottish education fortunately had seemed open for discussion. Menter *et al.* (2010) suggest the Scottish policy context has created a space where teacher professionalism need not be limited to one model. Interestingly, implementation of CfE (SG, 2009) may even

rely on a number of models of the teacher. Teaching as a profession in Scotland may be richer in the presence of multiple professionalisms. However, constructions of the teacher are shaped by constructions of professionalism prompted by CPD policies and the discourses preferred by opinion shapers. Although discussion of professionalism may be open, professionalism is a lived experience. As we see in Chapter 7 (p.193) and Chapter 8 (p.225) the discourses that dominated the teachers' actions were accountability, performativity and that of the effective teacher. I then considered how the teachers had engaged in varied performances of professionalism and how they negotiated power and control, both within the teaching profession generally and more specifically, when engaged in teacher learning.

Having referred thus far to literature pertinent to understanding teacher professionalism at this time, I now move to discuss literature relevant to teachers' learning.

SECTION II – Teacher Learning

Introduction

As discussed earlier in Chapter 2 (p.12), in 2000 the McCrone Committee inquired into teachers' professional conditions of service in Scotland. The committee made a number of recommendations (cf. Chapter 2, p.17); most relevant to the discussion in this section was the change to the arrangements for CPD (SEED, 2000). The McCrone committee initially recommended an increased time allocation for CPD to a further five days in which teachers could commit more time to CPD if they considered it beneficial to their career (SEED, 2000). In the final agreement, CPD was no longer an option but mandated. Teachers were to engage in an additional contractual 35 hours of CPD per annum (SEED, 2001). In keeping with the dominant technicist discourse, both the committee and the final report, despite some rhetoric towards the democratic perspective (McGeer, 2009), construct teachers' education within discourses of development with a concern to develop skills achieved mainly through course attendance (SEED, 2000, 2001). This formalised expectation of teacher learning beyond ITE, however, signals a recognition that ITE is unable to equip teachers with all the knowledge and skills they will need through their careers (Wilson, Hall, Davidson and Lewin, 2006).

When examining the language of teacher education in Scotland it was interesting to note that the earliest stage of teachers' learning had in name, regardless of ideology, signaled a move from a training model, from the 'training of teachers' to 'teacher education' (Hulme, 2011, p.48). It was intriguing then to ponder why students at the earliest stage of their career engaged in teacher *education* but then throughout their career were to engage, perhaps only, in Continuing Professional *Development* (SEED, 2001; GTCS, 2006a)? Words, it seemed, mattered as they shape discourses. Power becomes inscribed in discursively constructed concepts, shaping and limiting what can and should be thought along with what cannot and should not (Clarke and Newman, 1997; Davies, 2004a).

With the power of words in mind, I now define my use of terminology in relation to teachers' learning.

Defining my terminology

The landscape of teachers' learning is littered with terminology. Throughout this thesis, I have referred to, to name but a few, CPD, professional development, teacher training, in-service training, professional learning, teacher learning and teachers' learning. However, I have aimed not use the terms interchangeably. I considered each to be underpinned by differing ideologies that can signal differences in the conceptualisation, form and purpose of the learning. Therefore although conceptual diversity stimulates debate and points to the complexity of CPD, a lack of conceptual clarity can lead to theoretical confusion.

While I had steered away from the term CPD as it can signal an oversimplified notion of learning, Day and Sachs (2004b, p.3) alternatively offer an encompassing understanding:

CPD is a term used to describe all the activities in which teachers engage during the course of a career which are designed to enhance their work.

Likewise in their use of staff development, Bubb and Earley (2010) when focusing on impact and outcomes claim:

Staff development itself is not one activity or a set of activities. It is not definable as a course, a series of courses, a programme of training or study or even a set of learning experiences. Rather, staff development is the upshot or outcome that may result from any or all of these activities and from the individual's reflection on day-to-day experience of doing the job.

Kelchtermans (2004, p.220, emphasis in the original) similarly suggests:

CPD is a *learning process* resulting from *meaningful interaction* with *context* (both time and space) and eventually leading to changes in teachers' professional practice (actions) and in their *thinking about that practice*.

So in order to acknowledge and preserve the integrity of the thinking of others, I aimed to use the terms favoured by the original authors when referring to the work of others. However, when signalling my thinking, I preferred the term teachers' professional learning or often, simply for the sake of brevity, professional learning or

teacher learning. The use of the term professional is that of a heuristic to signal learning that is relevant to the professional life of a teacher rather than to exclude learning that took place in the personal domain. My preferences signal my ongoing belief that teacher learning need not be confined by a developmental model as I do not consider learning solely as a cognitive construction. Rather, I acknowledge a broad conceptual understanding of teacher learning which recognises the diversity of learning that teachers undertake at differing career points. I also take account of learning that goes beyond the development of knowledge or skills. Within this construction, I include a range of experiences such as individual in-service training, whole school development activities along with academic study such as the ChT programme. However, I do not confine teacher learning to formal opportunities but acknowledge the importance of non-formal learning and the place of dialogue. Overall, I continue to understand learning as a socially constructed and culturally embedded activity.

On a final note, I draw attention to my use of language. I use the phrase ‘teacher learning’ to signal theoretical discussion but use ‘teachers’ learning’ when I refer to the experiences of teachers engaged in learning.

I begin this section by further exploring conceptualisations of teacher learning and then move to discuss some models for learning.

Conceptualising teacher learning

As continuing professional learning is widely accepted as an essential component of teacher growth (Day, 1999; Muijs and Lindsay, 2008) identifying the conditions which bring about successful professional learning would be useful.

Dadds (1997) drawing on Freire’s (1996) conceptualisation of learning as banking, points to the ongoing nature of learning. Teachers do not enter professional learning as empty vessels but with experiences, feelings, beliefs and uncertainties that are all useful resources in the professional learning process (Dadds, 1997). In a similar vein, Day’s (1997) research tells us that for professional learning to be effective it must extend beyond the immediate needs of school or classroom practice and, as teachers are not a homogenous group must take account of where teachers are in

their lives and their careers. Further, the models, levels and intensities of professional learning must relate to these conditions (Day, 1997). Therefore it is essential teachers are active in the direction and process of their own learning (Sachs, 2003). If professional learning is not congruent with teachers' values, it is unlikely to influence practice (Harland and Kinder, 1997). Furthermore, McNally (2006) draws attention to the emotional dimensions of professional learning and suggests that this area is often overlooked.

These conditions required for successful professional learning though seemed arguably to position professional learning as a neutral concept. Consideration was not given to the power relationships that may serve to inhibit desired outcomes. Yet 'learning itself is situated within a hegemonic form of life in which all of us find ourselves unwittingly immersed' (Hill, 1999, p.24). Gramsci thus propounded the need for a more activist construction of education. He too associated education not with the passive reception of information but with the transformative power of ideas through recognition of power structures (Borg, Buttigieg and Mayo, 2002). Gramsci drew attention to the diversity of the forms of learning which take place through social interactions and so stressed that education is not limited by formal teaching (Hill, 1999).

That said, what is also alluded to in the term CPD, but less often discussed explicitly, is that teachers are adult learners. So while discussion of CPD often focuses on what is being learned, the form it takes and the expected outcomes or impact, less account is taken of the adult learners who are engaged in learning, often in the workplace. Eraut's work with the TLRP Early Career Learning at Work research project (2007a), alerted me to the need to deconstruct not only what teachers learn and why, but perhaps more importantly when aiming to progress understanding of teacher learning, to problematise how learning takes place and where to be alert to situatedness and to sites of learning.

Eraut (1994, p.10) indicates that while professionals continually learn on the job, 'case-specific' learning may not progress their knowledge base. Focusing attention on formally organised learning and work-based learning, Eraut (1994) questions the extent to which organised learning ensures important aspects of knowledge will be

covered. Insightfully, Eraut (1994) further queries whether organised learning complements or sits outside existing practice and so questions the potential of organised learning as a catalyst for work-based learning. It seems uncertain then as to whether organised learning can contribute to career development and professional knowledge over time or become embedded in the tacit domain. Rather, the constant introduction of new knowledge from outside may discourage learning professionals from ‘reformulat[ing] their theories of practice in light of their semi-digested case experiences ... under the stimulus of collegial sharing and challenging’ (Eraut, 1994, p.13). Eraut believes knowledge ‘is constructed through experience and its nature depends on the cumulative acquisition, selection and interpretation of that experience’ (Eraut, 1994, p.20). Learning thus takes place when knowledge is used. In the case of organised learning, it is unlikely the site of learning will be the same as the site of knowledge acquisition or that it will take place with the same group of people.

Taking account of the socially constructed nature of learning draws attention to the case of the input/output model of learning which dominates In-service Education and Training (INSET). INSET, as it is commonly known in England, or In-service as it is referred to in Scotland, is often critiqued (Harland and Kinder, 1997; Day, 1999; Forde *et al.*, 2006; Townsend, 2010) due to its failure to bring about sustained change to teachers’ practice. Forde *et al.* (2006) claim that the one-off nature of the provision, along with variation in quality, in part, explains its lack of impact on teacher performance. Alternatively, Townsend (2010) points to a lack of coherence between globalization and change; to low funding levels and to accountability measures to explain why Professional Development (PD) is often not sustainable. Yet course attendance is endorsed by the McCrone Agreement and is still often the dominant model of learning funded by EAs.

In contrast, Reeves and Forde (2004, p.85) propose a model which takes account of individual and group learning so learners can engage in ‘a dynamic framework for understanding changing practice’. Inherently social in nature, changing practice requires social interaction. Reeves and Forde (2004, p.100) therefore suggest that there is a need for a ‘becoming space’ where practitioners can engage in predictive

thinking through dialogue to allow experimentation with change prior to enactment, potentially providing the opportunity to align new thinking and the reconstruction of identity.

Learning then can be conceptualised in varied ways and can take place during varied models. Kennedy (2006) adopts a post-structuralist stance when questioning the discourses surrounding CPD policy, and offers a spectrum for CPD models which indicates the perceived purposes of the models.

Models of learning

Kennedy (2005) suggests professional learning manifests itself in a number of models and so considers the relationship between models of professional learning and their outcomes. Exploring the extent to which CPD is ‘an individual endeavour related to accountability, or as a collaborative endeavour that supports transformative practice’ (Kennedy, 2005, p.235), Kennedy identifies nine key models for learning which are organised into a spectrum (See Figure 2 Spectrum of CPD Models [reproduced]). The spectrum is punctuated by three broad categories indicating the potential for transmission, transitional and transformative outcomes.

Figure 2 Spectrum of CPD Models (reproduced)

Model of CPD	Purpose of model
The training model The award-bearing model The deficit model The cascade model	Transmission <div> </div>
The standards-based model The coaching/mentoring model The community of practice model	Transitional
The action research model The transformative model	Transformative

(Kennedy, 2005, p.248)

Transmissive, passive models of learning encompass the most recognisable models of teacher learning, with the training model historically the most popular means of promoting professional learning (Day, 1997). As indicated earlier, it is also often declared as least likely to influence practice (Harland and Kinder, 1997; Fraser,

Kennedy, Reid and McKinney, 2007). Day (1999) stresses though, that as long as the intrinsic limitations of delivery training is recognised, it can contribute to teachers' learning when used thoughtfully, and can be particularly useful to disseminate curriculum change and new initiatives. Professional learning, however, in this instance may be conceptualised as utilitarian; enabling teachers to interact with their material world, to engage productively and so can be located within managerial discourses (Sachs, 2003). Teachers undergo development, often individually, to acquire decontextualised knowledge and skills. This model assumes teaching is a rational process conceptualised within a body of knowledge; a set of principles which can be learned by novice practitioners in order to progress and develop into expert practitioners (Kelly, 2006). This cognitive model of learning does not take account of the social aspects of learning nor the issue of knowledge transfer (Kelly, 2006). Rather, effectiveness and productivity dominate this model, and so it may do little to promote teachers' personal or social satisfaction. The training model can even be at odds with teachers' values and beliefs (Moore, 2006; Rae and O'Brien, 2007) as training experiences often fail to connect with the moral purposes that can lie at the heart of teachers' professionalism (Day, 1999).

Transitional models are positioned at the mid-point on Kennedy's (2005) spectrum, and have the capacity to support either transmissive or transformative practice depending on the underpinning intentions and philosophies of the participants. Models such as mentoring and coaching are located within this category. Kelly (2006), adopting a socio-cultural understanding of learning, points to the importance of the site of learning and suggests activities such as peer coaching, mentoring, modelling, observing and providing feedback to colleagues are more likely to bring about richer learning experiences and contextually embedded change. However, Bryan and Carpenter (2008) draw attention to the complexity of external and internal expectations upon the identity and actions of mentors. They draw attention to the tension between managerial demands and the values of the field of practice and the influence this may have on the intentions and actions of mentors. Echoing Kennedy's (2005) fears, Kelly (2006) too suggests instrumental working practices can undermine collaborative (Wenger, 1998) approaches to learning (cf. Chapter 7, p.214). Kelly (2006) asserts the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) Best Practice

Research Scholarships (Department for Education and Employment [DfEE], 2001; Department for Education and Skills [DfES], 2002) hi-jacked teacher research for the instrumental purpose of better implementing central policy.

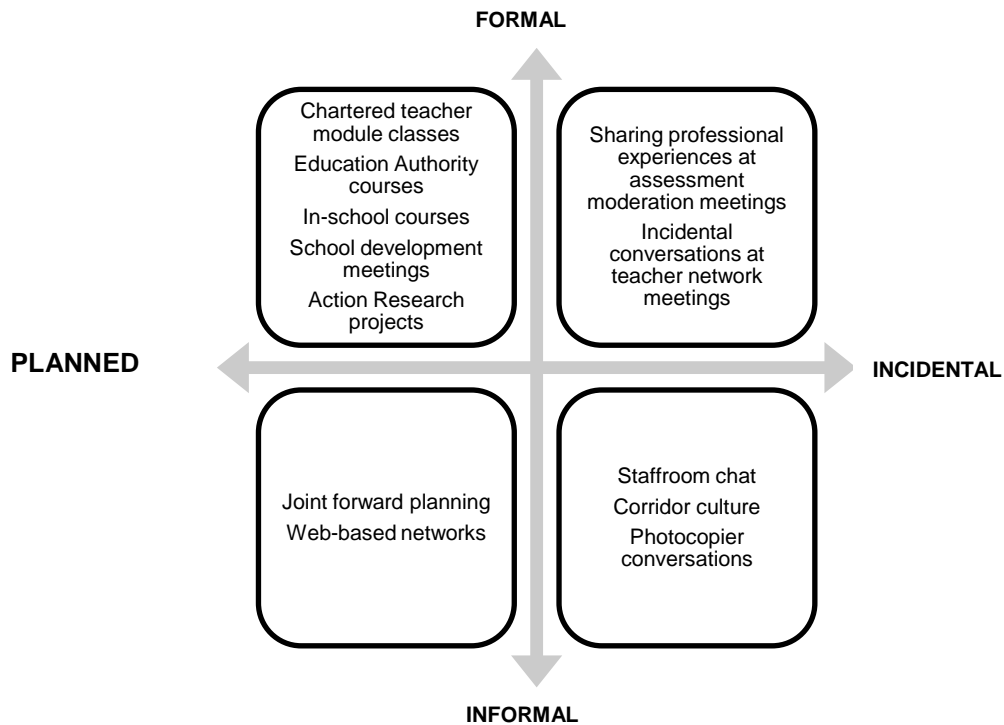
Kennedy (2005) claims that the transformative model of professional learning is characterised by effective integration of a range of models including action research (Hancock, 2001) and informal, incidental learning (Fraser *et al.*, 2007). Overall, this model requires a balance between teacher-centered and context specific community models of learning (Wenger, 1998) along with new knowledge which may be introduced through transmission models. However, in this model an alertness must be maintained for agendas underpinned by control and power (Kennedy, 2005). In a similar vein, an absence of attention to the social and personal aspects of learning can also result in potentially transformational learning diminishing to transmissive outcomes (Fraser *et al.*, 2007). Therefore transformative models are further characterised by the need for teachers to better understand both themselves and their practice (Capobianco, 2007). Sachs (2003) claims this is vital if learning is to transform teacher identity and improve student learning outcomes. Bubb and Earley (2010) also claim that staff development is more likely to result in improvement in student learning when staff learning, attitudes and beliefs change first.

However, Kennedy's (2005) spectrum does not fully address the complexity of issues of gender in power relations, a point I expand further at the end of section III (cf. Figure 5 Gender aware spectrum of CPD models, p.93) nor does it altogether address the enigma of non-formal learning, particularly learning Eraut (2000b) would describe as implicit learning.

Non-formal learning/Informal

Fraser *et al.* (2007) extend Kennedy's model and include informal, incidental learning. They suggest teachers' professional learning opportunities can be located in quadrants in two dimensions; formal-informal and planned-incidental (See Figure 3 Reid's quadrants of teacher learning [reproduced]).

Figure 3 Reid's quadrants of teacher learning (reproduced)



(Fraser *et al.*, 2007, p.161)

Formal opportunities comprise of those organised without active involvement from the learner, while informal opportunities are based in learner action. Although planned opportunities may be formal or informal, incidental opportunities 'are spontaneous and unpredictable' (Fraser *et al.*, 2007, p.160). Eraut (2000c, p.114), however, considers the term informal learning imprecise and offers 'non-formal learning' as a more definitive alternative as it focuses attention on the activity of learning rather than being indicative of the social context. As mentioned previously, Eraut (2004a, p.1) is also concerned with the site of learning and, of importance to this thesis, deals with learning that takes place 'in or near formal education settings' (cf. Chapter 7, p.135).

Eraut's (2000c) typology of non-formal learning defines three learning modes: implicit learning, reactive learning and deliberative learning. Implicit learning takes place in the absence of an intention to learn; it is an unconscious process which generates abstract knowledge (Reber, 2003). Eraut (2000a) stresses implicit learning, intuition and tacit learning are not interchangeable or even overlapping terms. Deliberative learning, like Fraser *et al.*'s. (2007) planned informal learning,

takes place during time set aside for learning such as seeking advice from a colleague. Eraut (2000c) suggests reactive learning lies between implicit and deliberative learning; although the learner is aware of it, it is unplanned and near spontaneous so would be difficult for the learner to articulate without reflection. Eraut (1994) also emphasises that it is not merely the type of professional knowledge being acquired that is important, but that the context through which it is acquired and subsequently used are also important.

Having highlighted some of the tensions and complexity in conceptualising the purposes and models for teacher learning, I now discuss evaluation. As we see later in Chapter 8 (p.247), evaluating learning in practice was problematic for the study participants.

Evaluation

At a time then when the context for using professional knowledge and skills in teaching in Scotland is the implementation of CfE (SG, 2009), with its aims to improve outcomes for children, the effectiveness of teachers' learning in bringing about student achievement has been subject to increased scrutiny (Accounts Commission and Auditor General for Scotland [Audit Scotland], 2006).

Guskey (2000) indicating that evaluation can take many forms, points to the everyday nature of evaluation. Incidents that result in the evaluation of evidence and then application of a judgement can range from the tentative toe that tests the temperature of the bathwater, to the decision to avoid the motorway when slow moving traffic backs up from the slip road. Guskey (2000), however, asserts that the evaluation of professional learning needs to move beyond these 'informal evaluation acts [to be] more formal and systematic' (Guskey, 2000, p.41).

Guskey (2000, p.79) proposes five levels of impact evaluation:

1. Participants' reactions
2. Participants' learning
3. Organisational support and change
4. Participants' use of new knowledge and skills and
5. Student learning outcomes.

Guskey (2000) claims most evaluations take place at Levels 1 and 2, which measure initial participant satisfaction. In England, evaluation of student learning then often takes place at Level 3 rather than Level 5 due to the ease of using published test results for this level of evaluation (Guskey, 2000). In contrast, Muijs and Lindsay (2008) found evaluation of student outcomes to be common among teachers. However, even when achievement outcomes are given priority, affective and psychomotor outcomes are often overlooked. In part this is due to the need to observe change over time, along with the difficulty in collecting such evidence (Guskey, 2000). Providing evidence of phenomena that may or may not be easily measured is further exasperated by the demands of new managerialism and its focus on improvement through target setting (Fraser *et al.*, 2007). In order then to bring about improved student learning outcomes Guskey (2000), adopting a reductive, reasoned stance, advises evaluation should be a thoughtful, intentional and purposeful process and that like professional learning should be intentional and results or goal driven. Furthermore, it should be applied to both formal and less formal learning, indicating an instrumental view of both learning and evaluation. Joyce and Showers (2002) also propose staff development should incorporate objectives and measures of impact during planning. Bubb and Earley (2010, p.59) concur, claiming 'If impact evaluation is built in from the start, ... it [impact evaluation] is more likely to make a difference'.

Yet although evaluation of intentional learning may be achievable in the manner proposed by Guskey (2000) when the outcomes of the learning are identifiable and measureable, Guskey's (2000) general acknowledgement that non-formal learning can take a range of forms that also should be evaluated oversimplifies workplace learning. Eraut's (2000c) typology on the other hand stresses the complexity of non-formal learning. While Guskey's (2000) model of evaluation could be applied to

deliberative learning, evaluating implicit learning, where learning takes place without intentionality or awareness of what was learned or reactive learning and the learning is near spontaneous and unplanned, seems problematic. How to engage in systematic evaluation in the manner proposed by Guskey (2000) when learning itself is so complex that it may not be apparent would be challenging. Therefore while Lawless and Pellegrino (2007) agree that the effectiveness of CPD should be related to student outcomes, due in part to the problematic nature of evaluation they conclude:

Although the number of professional development opportunities for teachers has increased, our understanding about what constitutes quality professional development, what teachers learn from it, or its impact on student outcomes has not substantially increased [since 1999].

(Lawless and Pellegrino, 2007, p.576).

Similarly, although Bubb, Earley and Hempel-Jorgensen (2009) report that 70% of teachers and 53% of support staff claimed that training and development was evaluated, they go on to highlight that the evaluations were ‘impressionistic and anecdotal’ (Earley, 2010, p.475). In this study, there had also seemed to be a mismatch between the teachers’ desire to engage in evaluation and the systems they were encouraged to apply (cf. Chapter 8, p.252). This mismatch may even have been exacerbated over time, as Bubb *et al.* (2009) report the influence of long term impact is seldom considered.

Attempting to explore PD over time Boyle, While and Boyle (2004), in a longitudinal study, investigated the relationship between the characteristics of PD and change in practice. The findings from their preliminary analysis indicated that the majority of the teachers, who completed the questionnaire, participated in some form of PD. Surprisingly, rather than one-off events, longer-term PD was reported as more common. Furthermore, the teachers who were participating in longer term PD were also more likely to report changes to one or more aspect of their teaching practice. It must be noted, however, that the respondents in this study were self-reporting. It may be that teachers with an interest in PD were more likely to participate both in the study and in alternative constructions of PD.

Reporting findings from the second year of their study, Boyle, Lamprianou and Boyle (2005) monitored the change in types and duration of PD activity and found that fewer teachers reported that they had not carried out PD in their subject area. Long-term PD, namely observation of colleagues and sharing practice, remained the most popular forms of development activities. However, at the time of writing, and perhaps indicative of the complexity of attributing change to PD, no data have been reported on the relationship between PD and gains in pupil achievement over time.

While the previously mentioned study indicates that the structure of PD can change over time, so too can personal aspects of teachers' lives which then influence the professional self. Having discussed aspects of teacher learning related to the activity itself, I now move to discuss the influence of career stage on teachers' learning.

The importance of career stage

Fraser, Draper and Taylor (1998), in a statistical analysis of specific aspects of job satisfaction for teachers, compared data from teachers who were at different stages of their careers. The most significant findings relating to teachers' professional lives was that teachers with longer service were less satisfied overall with teaching. Day, Elliot and Kington (2005) also found that there can be challenges in sustaining commitment throughout a career and during education reform. At times when teacher agency is limited, commitment can be challenged. However, personal factors can also sustain or diminish commitment (Day, Sammons, Stobart, Kington and Gu, 2007) as teachers have multiple identities and life histories which influence and shape their professional lives and their learning (cf. Chapter 6, p.184).

Reminding us of the influence of teachers' lives, of the interface between the personal and the professional, Sammons *et al.* (2007) draw attention to the importance of career stage. However, a concern only with career stage can suggest an understanding of the teaching career as a series of discrete stages which sets aside a construction of teaching as a practice that is ongoing, complex, interrelated and holistic. That said, as Sammons *et al.* (2007, p.699) stress:

Patterns in teachers' professional life phases and identities can be identified and related to their sense of commitment, resilience and perceived and relative effectiveness.

Although recognising the interconnectedness of career stage and the contribution of CPD in sustaining effectiveness and commitment is important (Sammons *et al.*, 2007; Day and Gu, 2007), what may need to be developed at each stage is not always clear.

In a bid then to attend to the needs of teachers post-probation, in 2006 the GTCS commissioned a systematic literature review of early professional learning (Wilson *et al.*, 2006). The review stated that little attention, at that time, had been paid to developing CPD which had the potential to ease the transition from newly qualified to experienced teacher. The review concluded that apart from McNally *et al.*'s (TLRP, 2007b) study, which was at that time was ongoing, that early professional learning was a neglected area. Following this review, a number of studies have taken place, some unsurprisingly focused around the induction/probationary period as this stage was of interest due to its prominence in the McCrone Agreement.

Induction

As discussed earlier in Chapter 2 (p.28) upon successful completion of the SITE (GTCS, 2006b), eligible, beginning teachers in Scotland are guaranteed a one year training contract (SEED, 2001). Continuing to learn during the first year of teaching therefore receives considerable focus and should encompass knowledge, skills and values as set out in SFR (GTCS, 2006a).

Yet although already familiar with the format of the SITE (GTCS, 2006b) McNally, Blake, Corbin and Gray (2008) found the beginning teachers in the EPL (cf. Chapter 3, p.46) project did not relate their lived experience of teaching to the standards discourse of the SFR. Achieving the standard was a bureaucratic requirement, as the competences appeared not to match with the complexity of their experience. Like Fraser *et al.*, (2007), McNally *et al.* (2008) looked to the emotional-relational realm to explain the probationers' experiences, as this was the most important dimension for the beginning teachers. The experiences of the beginning teachers adds weight to Carr's (2003) earlier concerns that the emotional-relational aspects of teaching are difficult to capture in a standard. McNally *et al.* (2008, p.296) thus argue time should be given to explore how standards can more closely 'capture the complex, personal, nature of the beginner's experience'.

However, it appears it is not only beginning teachers who can feel that their experiences are disconnected from the learning competences. Rae (2006) found teachers from across the career spectrum appeared to make little connection with the SRF (GTCS, 2006a) and their learning in ICT. For these teachers, the SFR (GTCS, 2006a) neither constrained (Forde *et al.*, 2006) nor enhanced (Christie, 2003) their learning. Rather, it appeared to be only a systemic demand running alongside the teachers' professional learning agenda; it did not converge with their learning needs or actions. Indeed the values and ideologies of the teachers in Rae's (2006) study appeared to compel them to be innovative and operate beyond what they perceived to be the legitimised system for professional learning.

In order, therefore, to cultivate more meaningful, embedded constructions of CPD, Draper and O'Brien (2006) stress the value of establishing continuity of CPD for beginning teachers. They suggest if professional development systems are in place, which follow on post-induction that teachers are likely to embed CPD as part of their professional practice. This may also aid teacher retention. However, Draper and O'Brien (2006) caution that it may be difficult to sustain such CPD, and withdrawing time set aside for teachers' learning in favour of classroom teaching may even cause dissent.

Teachers in years 2-6

In 2008, LTS commissioned a report titled *Early Professional Development in Scotland: years 2-6* (Kennedy *et al.*, 2008b). The report broadly sought the views of new post-probationary teachers regarding their experience and thinking around CPD.

Understandably at this early stage of teaching, a view of CPD was evident that could be classified as 'a plea for help'.

Of greatest importance to Kennedy *et al's* (2008b) respondents was that CPD should include strategies, hints and tips that they could implement immediately in their own classrooms. This suggests an understanding of teaching in the light of the technicist discourse and perhaps points to the extent that this discourse had been embedded in the teachers' conceptual understandings. Kennedy *et al's*. (2008b) teachers expected CPD to be relevant and abreast of current notions of desirable practice and

initiatives. From their seemingly unexamined position, of concern was their view that CPD should ‘provide contemporary resources that are “proven” to be effective and versatile’ (Kennedy *et al.*, 2008b, p.50).

It seemed these teachers, like the women in this study, may have been setting aside opportunities to develop as thinking professionals concerned with education beyond the confines of their own classroom (cf. Chapter 2, p.23). The women in this study had complied with a reductive construction of teaching through their expectation that resources can come with a guarantee of successful translation into practice.

Pedagogy was reduced to locating the ‘correct’ resources, which needed only to be implemented as directed. Rather than professional learning, passive knowledge transfer had been preferred by the teachers in both studies. This finding is considered highly problematic as Kennedy *et al.* (2008b) also report that most of the views expressed could be seen to be relevant to all teachers, suggesting this perception of CPD may be common across career stages (cf. Chapter 7, p.207).

In relation to the early years of professional learning, and echoing Draper and O’Brien’s (2006) view of the importance of a smooth transition, Kennedy *et al.* (2008b) recommend continuing mentoring into the early professional development stage as early positive experiences of the PRD process could aid the establishment of good professional learning habits. However, like Draper and O’Brien (2006), the report stresses the importance of finding mentors who are committed and themselves ‘well-trained’ (Kennedy *et al.*, 2008b, p.52) (cf. Chapter 8, p.237).

Of interest too, in Kennedy *et al.*’s. (2008) report, is the finding that teachers’ leadership development and advice on career progression of was of less importance to the teachers. For these beginning teachers, CPD still appeared to signal short-term concerns focused on classroom and pupils needs rather than a notion that they were adult learners making progress as learning professionals (Eraut, 1994).

Conversely, ChTs are encouraged to progress their practice by reflecting on not only their practice, but also the place current educational discourses have in shaping the profession.

The Chartered Teacher

Sachs (2003) is keen to promote a renewal of teacher professionalism directed towards activist ends. Transforming teacher professional learning to meet these ends demands a move away from CPD as the consumption or reproduction of knowledge to professional learning as a means to contribute to knowledge construction (Sachs, 2003). A move Gramsci would describe as a shift from that of the professional intellectual to that of the organic professional (cf. Chapter 4, p.107). Professional learning in this context requires teachers to have courage to move away from skills development to:

raise questions about whose interests are served by the implementation of new policies and curriculum practices, what are the effects on and implications for teachers' work practices

(Sachs, 2003, p.91).

While it is claimed a discourse inviting teachers to be active in current curriculum reform can be found in CfE (SG, 2008), the extent to which teachers consider this their responsibility can be questioned.

McPhee & Patrick (2009) found that not all teachers place value on developing policy preferring instead to focus their efforts on the day-to-day challenge of teaching. Williamson and Robinson (2009) claim, however, that becoming ChTs quickly began to place importance on academic reading as a means to make sense of how to translate theory to practice. After completing only the first self-evaluation module of a ChT programme, a small cohort of teachers appeared to demonstrate shifts in their thinking and practice which could be aligned with that of the activist professional (cf. Chapter 3, p.53).

Inventing the ChT, however, demands commitment and a perseverance to counter the traditional structures and cultures which previously have supported teachers' practices (Reeves, 2009). In attempting to move beyond following educational directives by initiating collaborative action enquiry with colleagues, the teachers in Reeves' (2009) study found themselves positioned as leaders. Although the becoming ChTs welcomed the opportunity to enact democratic professionalism

(Reeves, 2009), their colleagues remained more comfortable as 'bureau' (Clarke and Newman, 1997, p.63) professionals working within the limits set by the ChTs. Yet the role of ChT is contested and subject to ongoing debate (Alcorn, 2005; MacDonald, 2007; Williamson and Robinson, 2009; Fenwick, 2010). Connelly and McMahon (2007), in their small study of 28 ChTs who followed a University based ChT programme, found that the ChTs shared the view that they could be role models or mentors for their colleagues. This is surprising in the light of a report commissioned by the GTCS in 2010; Reeves *et al.* (2010) indicate that, in their major project submissions, ChTs seemed to construct teaching as a series of inputs and outputs with assessment focused on pupils' knowledge and attitudes. Many of their teaching interventions, however, did seem to be based upon constructivist approaches to teaching, and during group discussions, the ChTs seemed to advance a more complex notion of accomplished teaching. The ChTs considered it important that they were more responsive in their approach to individuals and so better supported learning.

Section summary

Much then is expected of teacher learning and interesting connections can be made between models of professionalism, teacher identity and models of learning. Acknowledging the complexity of learning as dynamic, embodied and situated in socio-cultural experiences constructed through dialogue and experience over time, may even encourage value to be placed with alternative models of teacher learning. Presently, much of a teachers' learning takes place in response to external demands, where value lies with short-term measures of transferability through measuring impact on pupil learning. While this may appear to fit with the construct of the effective teaching, effective teachers may be improved if they have the opportunity to shape their own learning. Teachers who are encouraged to acknowledge the complexity of their own learning and value the more humanistic aspects of learning such as non-formal learning may be better prepared to progress their learning across their career span. Furthermore, with deeper understanding of the purposes of varied models for learning teachers may become confident to shape not only what they learn but also how they learn it.

Yet although the literature regarding professional learning is extensive and a concern with career stage clearly featured, the notion of professional learning as a one-size fits all construct seemed to prevail. Notably, mention of gender and the influence this may have on teachers' learning receives less focus.

Having referred thus far to literature pertinent to teachers' learning, in the next section I draw attention to Primary teaching as a culture inhabited mainly by women. I consider the relevance of gender firstly in teaching as work and then for women as learners.

SECTION III - Woman as teacher and learner

Introduction

During the earliest stages of my literature investigation, my aim had been to progress my understanding of Primary Teachers' learning at a theoretical level. As I traced my way through texts, I noted that teachers were often constructed as a classless, genderless, raceless group. Yet this did not connect with my experience of being a Primary Teacher. When leaving teaching, the 'pals' I had left behind I realised were without exception, although not intention, all women.

Women as teachers

Women and teaching was a topic pursued by Acker (1989, 1999); a second-wave feminist educationalist. Acker (1989) claimed that due to the gendered nature of teaching and the dominant presence of women in Primary classrooms that it was necessary to problematise in what ways being a woman influences experience and professional identity.

In a climate still concerned with boys' underachievement relative to girls (Rogers and Evans, 2008; Skelton and Francis, 2009) there is public panic (Acker, 1995-1996; Thornton and Bricheno, 2006) surrounding the declining numbers of men taking up teaching as a career (Riddell *et al.*, 2006) leading allegedly to a lack of role models for boys (Griffiths, 2006). However, a preoccupation with the arguably mythical, failing boy overshadows discussion of the ways other groups of males continue to dominate and hold on to their social power (Reay, 2005). Teaching, it is often claimed, is becoming increasingly feminised (Skelton and Francis, 2009). Yet Thornton and Bricheno's (2006) *Missing men in education* critically discusses the roots and appropriateness of this aspect of concern with gender and suggests that it may not be all it seems. Skelton (2002), also a feminist educationalist, believes:

- statistical discourses focusing on the number of women teachers,
- cultural discourses focused on the bias the teaching environment may have for women and
- political backlash discourses underpin this claim.

Indeed, teaching in Scotland has long been, and remains, a predominantly female profession with little change in the percentage of women teachers in Primary Schools in the last ten years (See Table 1 Primary Teachers in Scotland 2001-2010 by gender).

Table 1 Primary Teachers in Scotland 2001-2010 by gender¹⁴

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Female	20 720	21 316	20 696	20 920	21 185	21 732	21 963	21 701	21 392	21 221
Male	1 569	1 664	1 625	1 657	1 689	1 769	1 834	1 870	1 863	1 939
Percentage female	93	93	93	93	93	92	92	92	92	92
Total	22 289	22 980	22 321	22 577	22 873	23 501	23 835	23 621	23 255	23 160

Similarly, Thornton and Bricheno (2006) report that from 1900, in England and Wales, there has been no parity in the proportions of men and women in teaching. Standing at 29%, 1938 saw the highest proportion of men Primary Teachers ever recorded (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006, 2009). Furthermore, globally teaching has long been and generally remains a predominantly female profession (OECD, 2005).

Teaching: women's work?

Buchan (1988, p.81) bluntly describes teaching as 'a good job for a girl (but an awful career for a woman!)'. Discussing teaching as gendered work, Acker (1995-1996) incisively notes that teaching is work with conditions of service. Teaching is carried out in exchange for pay, making clear there is a difference between work and non-work, 'the latter associated with the notion of women engaged in natural, quasi-maternal caring' (Acker, 1995-1996, p.102).

Yet salaries for Primary Teachers, while rewarding women more than many other women dominated occupations, are not financially attractive to men. Teachers'

¹⁴ Table compiled from statistics gathered from the annual summary statistics for schools in Scotland, 2006, 2009, 2010 available at <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications>.

salaries have, in line with historical divides in the worth of various occupations (Riddell *et al.*, 2006), become ‘suppressed to a level more in keeping with a predominantly female profession’ (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006, p.38). This is unsurprising as teaching has long been reduced to a caring profession (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006) akin to mothering (Thornton and Bricheno, 2009).

Yet describing teaching in this way ‘disparages teaching as a career’ (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006, p.59). ‘Essentialised by traditional notions of the female identity’ (Dillabough, 2006, p.708), the professional status of women is closely tied to the domestic and emotional work of child rearing. Again perhaps unsurprisingly against this backdrop, teaching although now arguably a profession (Day and Sachs, 2004a) (cf. Chapter 3, p.48) is devalued to one of low status (Riddell *et al.*, 2006). Some subordinate teaching even further, claiming it is only a semi-profession in which teachers are in need of structural control and systemic direction from more rational expert others (Thornton and Bricheno, 2009). David Blunkett’s description diminishing the four-year Bachelor of Education to a ‘sub-undergraduate course’ (cited in McAvoy, 2000, p.23) illustrates one view of the worth of mainly women’s abilities and intellectual endeavours.

In 1993 the low status of working with children along with the perceived lack of intellectual challenge, led the then Minister of State for Education in England, John Patten, to propose a Mum’s Army of non-graduates to teach the Early Years. Although John Patten’s original proposal was dropped, in England, Teaching Assistants (TAs) with lower qualifications and rates of pay have been brought into classrooms. This move is considered by some teacher leaders as a further dumbing down of the teaching profession (Garner, 2002). However, in Scotland those who support teachers in the classroom have a different role. This role does not include taking responsibility for teaching. Indeed moves to expand the role of Support Assistants (SAs) into teaching responsibilities would be resisted both by the GTCS and by teachers’ unions.

So while concern is given to the gendered nature of children’s attainment (Walden and Walkerdine, 1985) and the gendered nature of children’s experiences in the classroom (Walkerdine, 1990; Blaise, 2005), gendering of teaching has and continues

to influence the experiences of not only women but also men teachers. Acker (1994, p.81) asserts, however, it is the 'status accorded to women in society, not simply the [dominant] presence of women' that characterises teaching as a low status occupation. Acker continues that disappointingly there is a 'low regard for the intellectual capacities of teachers, perhaps especially women teachers' (Acker, 1994, p.81).

So although teaching is constructed as women's work (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006) education policy is increasingly constructed as masculine (Mahony *et al.*, 2004) (cf. Chapter 2, p.21). Furthermore, Griffiths (2006, p.402 citing Connell, 1995) asserts 'the masculinity in question is hegemonic: individualist, competitive, performative, calculative, and hierarchical'.

Policy: masculinising women's work?

Referring to the adoption of managerial, regulatory models of performance which focus on the visible and measurable, Mahony *et al.* (2004) point to attempts beyond that of recruiting men into teaching, as further moves to masculinise teaching. Arnot and Miles (2005) agree that performance indicators, hierarchical management and administration structures demonstrate schools are becoming increasingly masculinised. Mahony *et al.* (2004) therefore propose there are tensions between the masculine nature of systems inherent in new managerialism and values more concerned with student need, disadvantage, inclusion and collegial social relationships (Blackmore, 1999). Yet the effects of globalization on new managerialist approaches have not stopped women from moving beyond the classroom, into promoted posts and into Headship.

Casting a feminist gaze on educational leadership, Blackmore (1999, p.3) discusses how women in leadership positions 'trouble dominant masculinities and modes of management by being different'. Woman is therefore pathologised and constructed as 'the problem' (Blackmore, 1999, p.4) in order to preserve discourses of masculinity and rationality within good leadership. Against this backdrop, perhaps as would be predicted, men are still more likely than women to hold positions of structural power as HTs or heads of department (Powney *et al.*, 2003; Mahony *et al.*, 2004; Riddell *et al.*, 2006).

Insightfully, Skelton and Francis (2009) draw attention to the lack of concern given to the missing women in leadership, but intriguingly also question the value of promoted posts as important and valued aspects of teaching for women. Headship as the prize at the end of a linear career pathway may be a better fit with discourses of management as 'masculinist' (Moreau, Osgood and Halsall, 2007, p.244) than the discourse of teaching as emotional labour which some women prefer (Schatz-Oppenheimer and Halpert-Zamir, 2010). Furthermore, as it can disrupt the discourse of reason, emotional labour is not valued in school management positions (Blackmore, 1999).

Blackmore (1999) indicates women leaders can find it difficult to reconcile performative regimes with a collegial approach based on respect, care and mutuality. The policy discourse can be seen to constrain practice while structural power constrains agency. Yet Blackmore (1999) asserts power is not located in only one source and citing Foucault (1978) suggests the hold of power can be modified. Some women can use interpersonal relationships to build networks which can make it difficult for those in structurally powerful roles to take full advantage of their power (Paechter and Head, 1996). Conversely, other women use networks to maintain the status quo and resist attempts to break down gender/power relations (MacDonald, 2004). So although men's power in Primary Schools has decreased over time (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006) education policy has 'Othered' (Blackmore, 1999, p.43) discourses of leadership which focus on knowledge constructed from women's experiences of the world. Griffiths goes further, claiming the feminisation of teaching is not such a problem. Rather, hegemonic masculinity is, as 'it crowds out other practices' (Griffiths, 2006, p.403).

So long as girls remain second class citizens in education (Paechter, 1998) and teaching is constructed as a mothering and feminised profession (Thornton and Bricheno, 2006) and emotional labour is defined in opposition to intellectual labour (Acker, 1995-1996), women teachers may find engaging in the challenging intellectual activity called for by Humes (2001) an unattainable enterprise.

Having discussed women as teachers and teaching as work, I now move to consider women as learners.

Women as learners

Knowledge in Western society is often bounded by empiricist notions of rationality and reason. Power and value lies in decontextualized knowledge ‘where a particular image of the nature of knowledge constrains even what can be said’ (Paechter, 1998, p.64) and thought. This positivist perspective of knowledge is exemplified in some of the most commonly adopted transmissive models of Primary Teachers’ learning (Kennedy, 2005) (cf. Chapter 3, p.67).

Skelton and Francis (2009) in their book *Feminism and ‘The schooling scandal’* note the continued marginalisation of girls in schooling, a circumstance that was highlighted nearly thirty years earlier by Spender in her 1982 book *Invisible women: the schooling scandal*. Spender (1982) had claimed that men’s ways of knowing and understanding dominate schooling which is built on an Enlightenment, individualised construction of the rational, scientific man (Benjamin, 2002).

Constrained by the hegemony of reason (Paechter, 1998), women teachers can still find their preferred learning practices set aside (Griffiths, 2006). The power inscribed in decontextualised, rational knowledge counters that of everyday, contextualised, intuitive practice. Reason thus provides the authority to decide what is worthwhile as knowledge and, conversely what is not (Paechter, 1998). Paechter (1998, p.65 citing Foucault, 1977) claims ‘ironically, the power of such knowledge partly arises from the illusion that it is in these circumstances that “the power relations are suspended” ’.

It is important to now make my position clear in relation to the work that follows, before I expand my discussion of knowledge to consider alternative ways of knowing.

As I draw on the work of Belenky (1986), Gilligan (1982) and Noddings (2003) I do not subscribe to the claim that their work is essentialist. I do not share this understanding of their work. Nor do I aim to show that men and women are essentially different or to denigrate masculinity (Barr, 1999). Rather, it is my intention to try to problematise how gendering may play a part in how women experience their worlds and how gender may influence learning. Considering

women's ways of knowing provides a tool to challenge dominant systems of thought (Barr, 1999) by pointing to alternative and valid ways of thinking (Leicester, 2001). As I have drawn attention to the dominant discourse of rational thought, in order to consider the experiences of the women in this study more fully, it is now useful to draw attention to subordinate discourses for knowing. This is not to dichotomise, to present one way in opposition to the other, but to stress that dominant discourses can only be in play when other discourses are subordinated.

Women's ways of knowing

Paechter, a British feminist academic, investigates how and why girls' education is subordinate to that of boys. Paechter (1998) claims that in Western philosophical thought the world is constructed through dichotomies such as mind/body, reason/emotion. Notably, although pairs, one has priority and in some cases the Other is defined as the negative as with reason/emotion (Paechter, 1998). The man/woman dichotomy can then be used to organise and understand the Othering relationship. Male reason has come to be constructed as having more value than female emotion. Using the discourse of woman as Other, Paechter (1998) analysed how masculine forms of achievement disadvantage girls and discount their successes.

Gilligan (1982), an American psychologist, provides examples of how women's thinking may vary to that of men's in a critique of Kohlberg's (1981) stages of moral reasoning. Kohlberg's (1981) psychological theory holds that moral reasoning has six identifiable, developmental, constructive stages which can be sequenced. According to Kohlberg's study, it appears that generally men reach higher stages of reasoning about moral dilemmas than women do, as men appear to have higher levels of understanding about justice. However, Gilligan (1982) counters this claim by pointing to the androcentricity of Kohlberg's empirical study. Women were missing from the study. The findings were based on the responses of only male participants. 'Kohlberg assumes that what is true for males will be true for the entire species; males are treated as representative of all humans' (Paechter, 1998, p.14).

Alternatively, Gilligan's (1982) study found that women generally were concerned with interpersonal care, with ongoing relationships and with context rather than the application of abstract, universal principles. Therefore Gilligan (1982) reasons that

the women brought different but equally important moral values to moral dilemmas and that this reasonably resulted in different resolutions. Gilligan (1982) contends that it was not that the women were less able to reach higher stages of reasoning but that they brought a different way of reasoning; that they had a 'different voice' more concerned with 'an ethic of care [and] the tie between relationship and responsibility' (Gilligan, 1982, p.173). Paechter (1998, p.14), taking account of socio-cultural influences, suggests women are expected and 'educated to be experts in interpersonal relations' so it may be unsurprising that for many women this expectation becomes embodied as part of their disposition and beliefs.

However, Gilligan's (1982) work on human development has its critics. Concerns were raised, notably by Sommers (1994), concerning the small number of hand selected participants in Gilligan's study along with her consistent refusal to allow her research to be peer-reviewed. That recognised, in spite of Sommer's strenuous opposition, Gilligan's work is received favourably by many others (Belenky *et al.*, 1986; Paechter, 1998). However, while the credibility of the study is important, also important is that Gilligan's work sparked debate with regard to epistemological questions about the nature of knowledge.

Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) American psychologists, undertook a study drawing attention to the missing voices of women in theories of knowing and learning. Based on extensive interviews with a widely diverse group of 135 American women, Belenky *et al.* (1986) describe how the women's concept of self and knowing were intertwined with how the women struggled to claim the power of their minds. Barr (1999), however, challenges Belenky *et al.*'s. (1986) methods, claiming they paid insufficient attention to important societal differences between the women such as race and class. This claim is supported by Luttrell's (1989) study of working class white and black women which suggests race influences both how the women came to understand knowledge, along with how they experienced and defined what did not count as knowledge.

This limitation acknowledged, Belenky *et al.* (1986, p.3) identified five different 'women's ways of knowing'. The women in their study seemed to view social

realities and drew conclusions about truth, knowledge through the following ‘ways of knowing’:

- Silence – a position in which the women felt voiceless, powerless and mindless;
- Received knowing – a position in which knowledge and authority was invested in listening to the voices of powerful and knowing others;
- Subjective knowing – a position in which knowing was based on the inner voice, intuitive rather than based on thoughts that could be defended with evidence;
- Procedural knowing – a position in which knowing was a process through which separate knowledge came together with connected knowing;
- Constructed knowing – a position in which truth was understood to be contextual; knowledge was tentative and constructed and brought the self to the centre of the knowing process.

(Belenky *et al.*, 1986; Goldberger, 1996b)

Belenky *et al.* (1986) also draw attention to the importance of socio-cultural contexts, claiming that family and schools, as ‘socializing institutions’ (Goldberger, Tarule, Clinchy and Belenky, 1996, p.4) at times promoted, but at others hindered the women’s development. They found the women in their study frequently spoke of problems and gaps in their learning that led them to doubt their intellectual competence as formal education had seemed irrelevant to their interests.

Furthermore, they felt that the embodiment of knowing intuitively could also be a hindrance due to its lack of credibility even though the women themselves valued it as a way to know (Goldberger, 1996a). As discussed earlier in this chapter (p.57) less attention has been paid to intuitive knowledge as it is deemed emotional and personal, thus Other to rational, objective knowledge (Belenky *et al.*, 1986; Paechter, 1998; Atkinson and Claxton, 2000).

Leicester (2001), a British adult-educator, suggests insofar as some women’s interests may be different to those of some men’s interests, that women’s ways of constructing knowledge may too may be different. Leicester (2001) explains this

does not mean women's knowledge is subjective as opposed to objective but suggests all knowledge is objective but relies on inter-subjective agreement. Indeed, a significant feature of the work of Belenky *et al.* (1986) is the collaborative, dialogic process through which the researchers connected their understandings and writings in a fluid process not constrained by rigidly imposed boundaries of work or pleasure, formal or non-formal of 'I' or 'we' (Goldberger, 1996c, p.xii).

However, Belenky *et al.* (1986) also have their critics. Goldberger (1996b) claims their work is often oversimplified and placed in the essentialist camp with the work of others such as Noddings (2003). Yet like Noddings, Belenky *et al.* (1986) do not suggest their theories are exclusive to women nor even distinctively female, rather, that they look beyond utilitarian arguments of logics and reason to theorise knowledge alternatively as influenced by experience. As Goldberger (1996b) explains, their study built on a previous similar study of men. Belenky *et al.* (1986) sought then to understand and include seemingly silenced and disempowered voices, finding there were taken-for-granted agendas of power relations which socialised the women and at the same time defined and privileged some knowledge over others. Eraut (2000a), commenting on Claxton's construction of the intuitive practitioner which draws on the thinking of Belenky *et al.* (1986), questions though if varieties of intuition are processes or could they be better described as a 'way *to* knowing' (Eraut, 2000a, p.256, emphasis in the original) rather than 'ways *of* knowing' (Eraut, 2000a, p.256, emphasis in the original).

Overall, it had seemed that knowledge generated from personal experience and the place personal experience plays in generating knowledge were still positioned as relatively undervalued and gendered ways of knowing the world (Leicester, 2001). I therefore turn now to discuss feminist pedagogies and their aim to challenge dominant discourses of reason and exclusion.

Feminist pedagogy

Feminist pedagogy aims to challenge inequality in existing models of education. Feminist pedagogies strive to create collaborative learning environments in which egalitarian relationships bring about the democratic creation of knowledge. 'Feminist pedagogy is synonymous with a range of models for inclusive practices'

The transformative model lies at the other end of the continuum and expects activism and agency among teachers, students and other stakeholders to reform existing practices, curriculum and policies (Capobianco, 2007). This requires new, more effective democratic approaches to education that empowers learners through the learning process. Learners are also encouraged to critique why inequalities exist in science and to question what can be done to bring about further change (Capobianco, 2007).

It seemed that this continuum was useful not only in commenting on inequalities in Science education but could also be applied to learning across the school curriculum and beyond, to challenge barriers to learning in teacher education.

Bringing together feminist pedagogies and teacher learning

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Kennedy (2005) classifies CPD along a spectrum indicating the potential for transformative practice and professional autonomy (cf. Figure 2 Spectrum of CPD models [reproduced], p.67). Kennedy (2005) asserts each model is underpinned by diverse influences, expectations and possibilities and so has the capacity to support transmission through to transformative practices. While Kennedy (2005) takes some account of the construction of knowledge her work does not explicitly consider feminist pedagogies.

However, it seemed that bringing together Kennedy's framework for CPD with the feminist pedagogies continuum could provide an enhanced means of understanding each of Kennedy's (2005) CPD models' capacity for professional autonomy. Analyzing models of CPD in this manner could further contribute to developing more egalitarian models of CPD (See Figure 5 Gender aware spectrum of CPD models).

Figure 5 Gender aware spectrum of CPD models

Model of CPD	Purpose of model	Context for learning	Nature of knowledge	Ways of knowing	Features of model	Feminist pedagogies
The training model The award-bearing model The deficit model The cascade model	Transmission	Individual	Decontextualised Instutional Value-free	Logical Rational	Positivist Individual Objective	Equitable practices with ↑ emphasis on gender
The standards-based model The coaching/mentoring model The community of practice model	Transitional	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Increasing capacity for professional autonomy </div>				More inclusive of difference (i.e. gender, race, class & others)
The action research model The transformative model	Transformative	↓ Socially Constructed	Situated in practice Local Critical	Intuitive Emotional	Interpretivist Socially situated Subjective	Transformative practices with ↓ emphasis on activism

Section summary

The term professional itself is an essentially contested concept (Hoyle and John, 1995). Learning since the time of the ancient Greeks and Plato has been situated within epistemological debates concerned with what is knowledge and, furthermore, with what is knowledge worth knowing (Dunne, 2005). These discourses now situate current debate around the forms that professional learning can take (Fraser *et al.*, 2007) along with its intended outcomes (Kennedy, 2005). As I have argued, often less considered within the context of teacher learning are women's ways of knowing (Gilligan, 1982; Belenky *et al.*, 1986; Goldberger *et al.*, 1996; Leicester, 2001) and what such alternative ways of knowing could mean for women learning as adults, as professionals.

Feminist theories have contributed much to our understanding of how gender oppression can be at play in women's lives and how women's oppression is directly linked to opportunity; if women are given a level playing field, they can achieve as equally as men can. Yet how learning is constructed is constrained by our understanding of how knowing evolves and of the use made of knowledge. Limitation on what is allowed to be known is further constrained by issues of power, which Gramsci did not believe to be unidirectional. Power does not 'consist solely in the transmission and dissemination of ideas and views from the leading groups of

society down to the subordinate' (Borg *et al.*, 2002, p.8) but gains control when it permeates society when philosophies and values remain unexamined. If women's ways of knowing become recognised as alternative, visible and complementary paradigms for thinking and learning, issues of hegemonic power may be countered.

A gender aware framework for CPD therefore includes multiple socially constructed paradigms for knowing and when these are taken into account all Primary Teachers may benefit. All teachers may be offered ways to engage more profitably in professional learning. However, it would mark a failure to assume all women or men 'know' in one-way or another or to suggest there is an exclusively female or male construct for knowing. Again, I stress my intent is not to argue for a way of knowing that excludes others. Rather, I argue that all learners may be provided further voices by progressing understanding in knowing, by acknowledging multiple ways of knowing as having value and constructing pedagogy that acknowledges such difference.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there is extensive literature which brings together knowledge and understanding of the influence of policy on conceptualisations of teachers' professionalism and learning. There is equally extensive and detailed literature which builds theory to understand the influence of gender on work and learning. However, as we shall see in Chapter 6 (p.162), further exploration of the place early gendering plays for women as learners will be useful in better understanding how early experiences of schooling play a part in influencing some women's later experiences as adult learners in their professional lives.

If teachers are to change to better meet the needs of all pupils, building understanding of barriers and resistant attitudes must go beyond examination of current policy and teacher learning practices. Socio-cultural practices too have an influence in shaping teachers' understandings of learning. Exploration and theorising of dispositions, beliefs and experiences of education and schooling, which begins while one is a pupil, may help progress understandings of how and why women have become the teachers and learners they are.

Informed by thorough and critical exploration of existing literatures, I have set the scene for this study in this chapter and in Chapter 2 (p.12). I now introduce my research questions.

Research questions

As teaching and learning lie at the heart of teachers' daily endeavors it may seem that teachers will 'know' themselves as learners and be actively engaged with their own professional learning. This study therefore sought to investigate in what ways this could be so, to explore some women Primary Teachers' perspectives on their own professional learning. As this study was located in the Scottish context, it also aimed to understand in what ways Scottish educational policy, namely the CPD Framework (SEED, 2003a) and the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001) influenced women Primary Teacher's identities.

Sensitised by a wealth of concepts, investigation of how women Primary Teachers made sense of their own learning in their professional lives thus took place guided by the following main research questions:

Table 2 Sensitising concepts

Research question	Significant literatures
What do women Primary Teachers understand by professional learning?	(Paechter, 1998; MacDonald, 2001; SEED, 2003a; Kennedy, 2005; Fraser <i>et al.</i> , 2007)
What are women Primary Teachers' experiences of professional learning provision?	(SEED, 2001; Kennedy, 2005; Fraser <i>et al.</i> , 2007)
In what ways do women Primary Teachers' identities influence engagement with professional learning?	(Day, 1997; Francis, 1998; Sachs, 2003; Mahony <i>et al.</i> , 2004; Kennedy, 2005)
What are women Primary Teachers' perceptions of the focus, purpose and value of professional learning?	(Day, 1997; Sachs, 2003; Mahony <i>et al.</i> , 2004; Kennedy, 2005; HMle, 2007b)
In what ways do women Primary Teachers evaluate their own learning?	(Guskey, 2000; Sachs, 2003)
Do women Primary Teachers associate professional learning with an effect on pupils' learning, affective, behavioural and cognitive, and if so how do they measure it?	(Guskey, 2000; Sachs, 2003; SEED, 2003a; Mahony <i>et al.</i> , 2004)
What are opinion shapers' perceptions of the focus, purpose and value of professional learning?	(SEED, 2000; 2001; GTCS, 2006a; 2006b; HMle, 2007b; Doherty and McMahon, 2007; 2009)

However, as I discuss later in Chapter 5 (p.127), investigating the literature was an iterative process carried out before, during and following data construction.

Although I signal here significant literatures, they were not all identified before data construction.

From my reading I also came to understand how feminist theories have contributed much to our understanding of how gender oppression can be at play in women's lives (Acker, 1995-1996) and how women's oppression can be directly linked to the construction of habitus (Bourdieu, 2001). Similarly, that how learning is constructed is constrained by our understanding of how knowing evolves and the use made of knowledge. Indeed Gramsci (Borg *et al.*, 2002, p.5) claimed subordinate classes must 'elaborate their own conception of the world'.

In the following chapter, drawing on the second level of my investigation of literatures, I next explain my search to find conceptual focus.

Chapter 4

Finding conceptual focus: the theoretical guide

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I introduced the literature which sensitised then guided my thinking before, during, after data collection, and into analysis. I highlighted my focus on professionalism, learning and gender.

While prior scholarship stimulated my knowledge of potential areas of interest, in order to advance understanding (Silverman, 2009) and to make further sense of data, it was also necessary to find conceptual focus. In line with the method adopted for data construction, which I detail next in Chapter 5 (p.121), construction of my theoretical guide was also an iterative process. The guide was not altogether conceptualised until data collection and analysis were underway and was still under consideration during theory construction and writing.

As with the previous chapter, I present here a linear discussion of the process of bringing together sensitising concepts from the literature together with theoretical guides. However, the written word does much to obscure the messiness of the lived experience. The process was far more dynamic, messy and responsive to the lived experience than I have been able to convey here.

Searching for theoretical guides: feminism, Gramsci and Bourdieu

Stimulated by a new understanding of woman as teacher, I had continued to read feminist literatures during data collection as the conceptual importance of being a woman in teaching progressed. I began then to see the potential of feminist/gender literatures as theoretical tools to make women teachers visible. It seemed these tools could guide my exploration of how the experience of being girl/woman may have influenced the identities of the teachers. The feminist lens became my overarching theoretical perspective. This lens allowed focused investigation of gender, of the varied femininities performed by the woman teachers when learning.

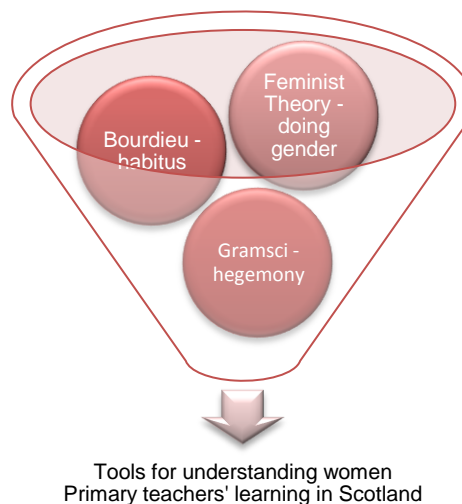
Around the same time that I came to recognise the importance of being a teacher as woman, I relatedly began to consider inequality and the reproduction of inequality. Although developed from a concern with class, Gramsci's notion of hegemony seemed at first to offer a way to understand the position of women teachers. Paechter (1998, p.3, emphasis in the original) claims hegemony 'works to perpetuate the *status quo*'. Hegemony conceptualises the way a dominant class successfully maintains control over a subordinate group who then accept and perpetuate their given status as commonsense, making it difficult to conceive of any other social reality (Gramsci, 1971; Grek, 2007). While this thinking was initially useful, I became uncertain as to whether the notion of hegemony offered sufficient space to conceptualise why the women had become the teachers they were in specific socio-cultural contexts. Bourdieu's notions of cultural field, habitus and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1990, 2004) alternatively appeared to offer the opportunity for such theoretical consideration.

Like Gramsci, Bourdieu was concerned with the perpetuating discourse of structure and agency. Bourdieu (1990) suggested the space available to people is limited and constrained by societal structures. Bourdieu thus offered the notion of cultural fields, habitus and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1990, 2004) as constructs for understanding 'the relationship between people's practices and the contexts within which these practices occur' (Webb *et al.*, 2002). Within these contexts or fields, power is concentrated into sites which authorise certain discourses and activities and so position people as more or less dominant to one another (Bourdieu, 1990; Webb *et al.*, 2002; Hardy, 2008). Habitus thus conceptualises the way people 'become themselves' (Webb *et al.*, 2002, p.xii). These concepts seemed to provide me with a way to understand some of the ways society had influenced the women to become the women and teachers they were. Using these tools I problematised the social and cultural contexts that encouraged the production of nurturing and caring teachers even though this disadvantaged some of the study women and limited the opportunities available to them (Goldstein and Lake, 2000; Day, 2004).

In order to remain attentive to socio-cultural contexts, I thus developed a sensitised understanding of theories which, due to their potential inter-relatedness (Grek, 2007),

I could use as tools to understand the relationships of power as experienced by a small group of women teachers within the Scottish education system (See Figure 6 Sensitising theories).

Figure 6 Sensitising theories



During data collection and analysis, at times the relevance of individual theories grew, then at other times they contracted. As I began to make sense of the data I combined the strengths of the positions (Reay, 2005) to construct a guide which attempted to make my conceptual understanding in this study clear (cf. Figure 8 Theoretical guide, p.119).

Having broadly signaled the theories used in this study, I now outline the aspects of feminist theory, Gramsci's notion of hegemony and Bourdieu's notions of field, habitus and cultural capital that were relevant to this research.

The feminist perspective

Due to my extensive discussion of women as teachers in the previous chapter, it may seem curious to find further discussion of what seems to be the same topic here. However, there are notable conceptual differences in the discussions. In the previous chapter, I discussed the experiences of women as teachers. I drew attention to conditions of work and to women as learners. In this chapter, I move to discuss the gendering of women as a theoretical construct. I must stress though, that while I argue the experience of being woman is gendered, I acknowledge that woman is not

a homogeneous construct. However, the day-to-day work experience of being a teacher as a woman is influenced by how woman is performed.

A feminist perspective has been vital in bringing to the fore the place gender plays in how learning is experienced and understood (Belenky *et al.*, 1986; Smulyan, 2006; Acker and Dillabough, 2007; Skelton and Francis, 2009). Yet before I proceed further to discuss gender, the notion of a feminist perspective requires further explanation. For the purpose of this study, I adopt a stance based on Acker's (1994, p.43) suggestion that:

Feminist theoretical frameworks address, above all, the question of women's subordination to men: how it arose, how and why it is perpetuated, how might it be changed and (sometimes) what life would be like without it.

It is not my aim though, to contribute to the progression of feminist or gender theory but to use the constructs as theoretical tools. Therefore I do not provide a full account charting varied feminist perspectives, but refer only to thinking relevant to advancing my theorising. Skelton and Francis (2009) provide a succinct account of educational feminist thinking over time, while Weiner (1994) provides fuller explanation.

I now explore specifically how gender can influence the identities of women teachers. However, as gender is a contested term (Francis, 2006a), I begin by discussing the literature which ignited my interest in gender and the thinking which became my theoretical backdrop.

Gender

Skelton and Francis (2009, p.122) claim 'inequalities based on gendered beliefs and attitudes continue to influence the professional identities of teachers.' They further suggest educational policy continues to reinforce classroom practices perpetuating the notion of '“properly gendered” men and women teachers' (p.124). Yet although Smulyan (2006, p.470) proposes 'gender can be learned, defined, renegotiated, and contested', the positioning of teaching as a 'good job for a woman' (Buchan, 1988, p.81) suggests society holds unexamined expectations regarding the connectedness of gender with some professional roles. Such expectations draw attention to the

complexity of the relationship between gender and teaching. Nurturing children is constructed by many societies as natural for women as it links to motherhood (Skelton and Francis, 2009; Thornton and Bricheno, 2009); this is thought to suit women to teaching. The traditional construct of a woman as teacher is submissive in nature; gentle and kind, prepared to set aside their own needs in order to nurture children selflessly. Steedman (1985), writing from a historical perspective, also links the responsibility of mothering with a similar responsibility for teaching which demands a casting aside of one's own needs as a woman.

However, the aforementioned construction of a woman as a teacher relies on unitary stereotypical notions of gender. Women are produced as ‘ “passive”, “weak” and “dependant” individuals’ (Walkerdine, 1990, p.3) In considering gender alternatively as a way of doing identity work (Benjamin, 2002, p.11), space can be found for ‘doing’ girl or boy, woman or man in different ways. Importantly this suggests social identity is more than ‘being’ so there may be more than one way of ‘doing’ identity.

Doing gender

Francis (2008a) contends it is problematic to critique social inequality by using the construct of sex as not everyone is identifiable by sex. Oakley (1972), from a social constructionist perspective, suggests gender behaviours are social phenomena. Butler (1990) agrees and offers a more nuanced understanding of gender and sex. So while sex is biological, gender is performative (Salih, 2002; Francis, 2008a). It then becomes possible to have a body designated as female, yet to display masculine traits; to be a ‘ “masculine” female’ (Salih, 2002, p.46). This understanding of gender problematises ‘ “natural” gender differences in behaviour’ (Francis, 2008a, p.211) among women and men, boys and girls. Gender can thus be understood as discursively constructed both by and for us within existing power structures (Salih, 2002). Examining gender performativity, produced at ‘societal (macro) and subjective (micro) levels’, then allows analysis of gender performances in relation to the broader gender order (Francis, Skelton and Read, 2010, p.319).

It is pertinent though to question how much agency is available when doing gender (Salih, 2002). Butler's response would be that ‘gender is constrained by the power

structures within which it is located' (Salih, 2002, p.50). Benjamin (2002, p.10), however, suggests:

Each person ... performs her own identity work, producing herself (or ... himself) in relation to the existing discursive field, and shaping that discursive field in the process.

While Paechter (2006), taking account of sex, concedes embodiment can influence gender.

Therefore, although gender performance allows for expression of different gender identities that the woman teacher, as a socio-cultural construct in Britain is constructed within traditional notions of a woman. I now therefore discuss performance of femininities and masculinities during schooling.

Doing girl

In a study of girls and boys that sought to move beyond analysis which 'typologizes boys' behaviours as different "kinds" of masculinity, and girls' behaviours as different kinds of femininity' Francis and Skelton (2009, p.2) explored high achieving pupils (HAP) constructions and performances of gender and learning. Intriguingly, Francis and Skelton (2009) found HAP girls engaged in stereotypical performances of doing girl. Traditional overt, superficial, femininity e.g. an interest in fashion, make-up, however, was able to bring about mediated production of being intelligent. HAP boys on the other hand produced typically:

'laddish' constructions of masculinity, [while] others invested in more 'mature' performances of masculinity ... as assertive and assured but also 'rational' and calm ... investing in an enlightenment model of rationality and authenticity

(Francis and Skelton, 2009, p.5).

Therefore while normative performance of gender seemed to be at play, these performances enabled production of being intelligent for both the girls and boys.

However, although in Francis and Skelton's (2009) study, normative gender performance disadvantaged neither the girls nor the boys in their production of being

intelligent, in Reay's (2005) study, the girls' gender performances benefitted the boys.

In a study focused only on a small group of seven-year-old girls, Reay (2005) found the girls took up varied gender identities in relation to traditional femininities. Reay (2005) identified spice girls, nice girls, girlies and tomboys. Yet in spite of performing varied femininities, the girls were relationally disadvantaged. The girls all acted in ways which 'bolstered boys' power at the expense of their own' (Reay, 2005, p.153). Reay concluded therefore that 'in this particular Primary School, girls and boys still learned many of the old lessons of gender relations which work against gender equity' (Reay, 2005, p.164).

In an investigation of the micropolitics of inclusive education in England, Benjamin (2002) researched the interrelatedness of girls' gender performances and the value given to girls' place in the social world. Benjamin's (2002, p.64) analysis identified the identities constructed and made possible through local and societal discourses. The identities available to the young women in her study were ' "sweet little girls", "big, bad girls" and "lazy girls" '. Of further interest was Benjamin's (2002, p.134) finding that the young women she spoke with considered themselves to 'know nothing' as 'their knowledge does not appear to count within dominant discourses of success' (p.135). This provides further evidence of the influence of wider societal structures which value outcomes based in knowing and cognitive learning. In this case, such value led to the subordination and devaluing of the young women's perspectives.

However, even having knowledge may not be enough as the influence of power is omnipresent (Paechter, 2006). Paechter (2006, p.17) claims:

Power ... is fundamentally relational; it operates through interactions; which are mobile and constantly changing. Indeed, it has to be mobilized.

Paechter (2011) stresses that it is the mobilization of knowledge which brings power into existence as power and knowledge are complexly and deeply related.

In a study of two Primary Schools in England, Paechter (2011) found knowledge brought power in the social world of the classroom. However, power was restricted to girls who knew how to mobilise their knowledge by engaging in knowledge exchange. Knowing when to release and withhold knowledge was important. In Paechter's study (2011) the nice girls didn't know how to mobilise their knowledge to mediate power. At times, they gave their knowledge away but often did not have knowledge of value anyway. It seemed then that along with the importance of who held power was how power relations were mobilised. In Paechter's study (2011), this was influenced, in part, through gender performance.

While it may seem gender performance offers agency in how girls/women position themselves, the discourse of schooling is saturated with compliance and a denial of difference so while there may be:

the impression of a fluid situation in relation to how contemporary girls position themselves as female, there is also substantial evidence of continuities in which, at least for the girls in this research, conformist discourses continue to exert more power than transgressive or transformative ones

Reay (2005, p.58).

Understanding the construction and available performances of doing gender/doing girl, as we shall see later is important in this study. As I have already indicated in the previous chapters, a number of professional identities were available to the teachers (cf. Chapter 2, p.23 and Chapter 3, p.52). However, I was also interested in further understanding the link between professional identities and how the performance of gender for women as teachers complied with or mediated the existing power structures when learning. As I suggest later in Chapter 6 (p.180) for one group of women 'doing' girl/woman involved displaying stereotypical feminine traits of caring and compliance. Although this may be considered a restricting role, it also seemed to bring power in the manner it operated to provide protection, preservation and even strengthening of the identity of the Nice girls and then later for the women in this study, as Nice teachers. However, as Reay (2005) points out there are many gender discourses. Francis (1998) concurs, adding that some discourses have more power for particular groups of girls than others. Similarly, in this study, I argue

different gender discourses can be seen in the performance of some ChTs, who as Confident women performed teacher differently (cf. Chapter 6, p.177).

Importantly though, I must again make my thinking clear at this point. Due to my epistemological position and the nature of this study, like Francis (2008b, p.111) ‘rather than intending a realist identification of truths, and/or seeing respondents’ performances of gender as fixed’, I offer my interpretation of the gender performance of a small group of women Primary Teachers at a specific time, within the confines of my thinking as constructed during this study.

Performing woman, I came to realise, was not a homogenous experience as some performances as a women can be more powerful than others are. This led me to explore the concept of hegemony as a means to understand how one group becomes more powerful, how it can subordinate the other and how it can then maintain control.

Gramsci

Gramsci, an Italian Marxist philosopher and political theorist, analysed culture and political leadership with a concern to bring about political change in Italy (Crehan, 2002). His central theory was a development of Marxist thinking of how the ruling class maintain their position and in particular, the importance of cultural power in sustaining inequality between social classes (Grek, 2007). Gramsci advanced the notion that domination and oppression do not rely solely on coercion but that they take place in the presence of consent and compliance (Gramsci, 1971). This proposition lies at the heart of the theoretical construct of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971).

Hegemony

Hegemony, according to Gramsci, ‘means the permeation *throughout* society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations’ (Burke, 1999, 2005, no page no., emphasis in the original). Hegemony thus becomes commonsense over time as it becomes embedded in culturally accepted discourses. Consequently, how things are, is not questioned.

In order to bring about cultural transformation Gramsci believed would-be revolutionaries need to understand the cultural reality they are concerned to change, as relevant counterhegemonies must emerge as a response to the lived reality of oppression (Crehan, 2002; Gramsci, 2007). The work of intellectuals is to provide coherence and intellectual rigour to the process (Crehan, 2002; Gramsci, 2007). Linking back to the basic economic structures of society was of great importance to Gramsci, and at the heart of his conceptualisation of the term organic (Crehan, 2002; Gramsci, 2007). Gramsci therefore was interested in how education and intellectuals contribute to, or combat, inequality. He suggested that at times intellectuals reproduce inequality, while at others they operate to counter the ruling class.

Organic intellectuals

The role of intellectuals in society was thus important to Gramsci's thinking. Gramsci believed not all men operate as equal intellectuals:

Intellectual activity can be differentiated by level that in moments of extreme opposition become a genuine difference in quality – on the highest rung we find “creators” of the various sciences, philosophy, poetry, etc.; on the lowest, the most humble “administrators and disseminators” of intellectual wealth

(Gramsci, 2007, p.201).

Gramsci proposed that organic intellectuals are critical thinkers who create new knowledge that the masses themselves cannot express and it is this knowledge which challenges and changes society. Although Gramsci argues all men have the intellect to learn, he conceptualised some as traditional rather than organic intellectuals.

However, Gramsci claimed that not all professionals can to be considered organic intellectuals. Gramsci was particularly critical of teachers, and classified them as ‘professional intellectuals’ (Gramsci, 2007, p.201), thereby suggesting they are not autonomous thinkers active in social transformation but too often uncritically transmit the dominant values and interests of the ruling class (Tickle, 2001; Gramsci, 2007). Gramsci recognised that while hierarchies and inequalities exist among intellectuals, the same hierarchies exist among subordinate groups (Gramsci, 2007). It cannot be assumed that all members of a particular group will have the same world

view as all groups are embedded in larger political and economic realities (Crehan, 2002).

Prompted then by Gramsci's insistent proposition that of importance is, 'who has power and who does not ... and what are the specificities of the relations of oppression?' (Crehan, 2002, p.6), I had pondered the conceptual usefulness of hegemony in understanding the influence of power relations in Scottish education, specifically in how women Primary teachers understand and experience professional learning. Thinking of Gramsci's concern with structure and agency, with force and consensus (Grek, 2007) I questioned 'How do wider social and education policy structures influence how learning is experienced and understood by women Primary Teachers?' (Crehan, 2002).

Initially, the passive attitude that seemed to inhibit some of the study teachers from contributing to active transformation of education seemed to fit with Gramsci's theorising. Yet if organic intellectuals are:

those who grow into a role within a social group, in order to lead the hegemonic project. It is their organisational function within the economic, cultural and political sphere that sets them apart from traditional intellectuals

(Grek, 2007, p.57),

what could this mean for the teachers who were ChTs?

As discussed previously in Chapter 3 (p.78), Reeves (2009) points out that even when ChTs were prepared to perform as organic intellectuals, a number of identities which could either counter or reproduce systems of power and control (Grek, 2007) are available to Ts. CTs therefore could perform conformist identities constructed within the current hegemonic structures that counter transformation in education and maintain the status quo. Rather than countering hegemony, performance of such identities could be complicit in re-affirming inequitable structures no matter the intentions of ChTs.

MacDonald (2004, 2007) investigated the identities and behaviours available to teachers in Scotland within the present structures of power and interestingly suggests

CTs are dominated both by local and national authorities and by promoted teachers. Typically, CTs were excluded from the decision making process with regard to policy (MacDonald, 2004). The policy determined role positioned the CTs as technicians rather than thinking professionals who question the assumptions upon which policy is based (cf. Chapter 2, p.28). While MacDonald (2004) suggests participation in the ChT programme should offer a way to counter the control of the dominant culture, surprisingly, in her study, this did not seem to operate in a straightforward way. Rather than redistributing power, the role of ChT reinforced an unequal distribution of power by further subverting CTs teachers who were Other to the ChTs.

As my data construction and analysis progressed and taking account of MacDonald's (2004) analysis, it had seemed that while hegemony offered a way to describe the study women's practice and actions, to understand relationships with those constructed as more powerful, it still seemed insufficient to understand why some CTs comply with their position as a subordinate class. It still seemed problematic that the skills and dispositions of CTs were not valued more highly, particularly when curriculum change was portrayed as being reliant on the knowledge of practising CTs (SG, 2008).

My thinking was then progressed further by Mayo (1999) who, drawing on the work of Gramsci and Freire, asserts education is never neutral. This claim seemed to emphasize the tensions between, in the case of teacher learning, the discourses of policy with the values and beliefs of CTs; that rather than being a neutral construct, teacher learning cemented the existing hegemony (Mayo, 1999). The CTs' focus on learning around classroom practice reinforced their subversion: a position relied upon by promoted teachers so they can control the running of the school within local and national policy demands (MacDonald, 2004). If CTs thought it their role to challenge policy demands and became oppositional in their thinking, the smooth day-to-day running of a school could become difficult. However, this it seemed still did not explain why the CTs in this study choose not to become ChTs.

I decided then that although hegemony explained women's position in society that Gramsci's theorising was useful only in partially explaining why teachers adopt the

identities they do. With identity in mind, I looked to Bourdieu's theories to try to understand more deeply why as Primary Classroom Teachers, some women were complicit in maintaining their subordination.

Bourdieu

Bourdieu, a French sociologist, theorised the dynamics of power relations in social life. Bourdieu had a particular interest in understanding how class, culture and education (Lane, 2000) act to transmit, reproduce and maintain power relations. Bourdieu was thus concerned to construct a set of tools for thinking (Bourdieu, 1990, 2006) which could be used to analyse and understand concealed aspects of the social world (Bourdieu, 2001).

So while teacher learning, like teacher professionalism (Leaton Gray and Whitty, 2010) could be conceptualised in relation to policy initiatives, it was also important in this study to understand how teacher identities were influenced by the earlier adoption of a particular world view (Bourdieu, 1990, 2001). I therefore found the concepts of field, habitus and cultural capital useful in examining early structural influences on personal experiences. These theoretical tools provided a means to understand the ways schooling had played a part in shaping the women's understandings of their roles as learners, and how these internalised constructions were then played out while learning as a teacher.

Field

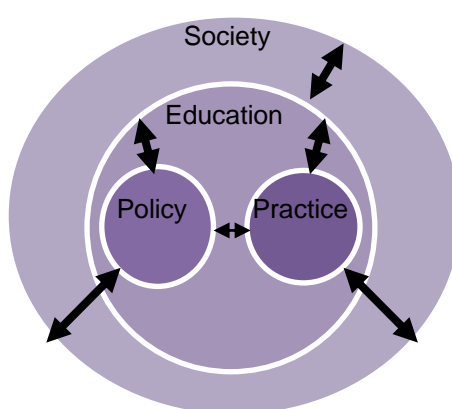
Bourdieu advanced the structure of field to explain social spaces in which struggle takes place for desirable resources (Bourdieu, 1990; Webb *et al.*, 2002). Bourdieu (cited in Grenfell and James, 2004, p.509) defined a field as a:

configuration of relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon the occupants, agents or institutions.

A person's position within a field depends on the amount of capital they possess and can use to maximise their position in relations and interactions within the rules of the field. Yet as Maton (2005) claims, relations are not limited to direct interactions, people may find themselves positioned relationally in a status higher or lower to

others they never meet, due to a field's underlying structuring principles. So although fields are relatively autonomous worlds, it is the complex interrelations of these worlds that constitute society (Maton, 2005). Bourdieu, however, stressed fields are not static rather they alter with the struggle for recognition (Grek, 2007). Making education visible as a field allows theoretical consideration of the interrelatedness of the fields of society, policy and practice (Maton, 2005) (See Figure 7 The interrelation between the fields of society, education policy and practice).

Figure 7 The interrelation between the fields of society, education policy and practice



Yet although Bourdieu suggested fields are fluid and dynamic entities (Bourdieu, 2001; Webb *et al.*, 2002), the question of autonomy within this structure of fields can be questioned. The women in this study possessed varying amounts of cultural capital (cf. Chapter 5, p.130), but their learning as teachers was very much subject to the demands of policy. Policy located performance of a teacher within a technicist discourse which advocated a construct of a teacher as effective (cf. Chapter 2, pages. 23, 28, 32). This often sat in uneasy tension with the values and beliefs of the field of practice.

However, the gender performances available to women were further limited by the wider social structures that dominate society, namely the socialisation of girls during schooling. Bourdieu would suggest that there was space available to the women to negotiate their position. However, as ‘social games are not “fair games” ’ (Bourdieu,

2000, p.214-215) the women's habitus, their embodied identity, restricted the positions available to them to occupy (Skeggs, 1995a).

Field then, it had seemed, would be useful in theorising the relationships between policy and practice and education and society. Habitus was the tool that then brought further structure to my thinking and enabled me to begin to theorise why the study women performed their gender identities differently, to consider why their behaviours seemed to vary in relation to their experiences and understandings of learning.

Habitus

Bourdieu placed the concept of habitus at the heart of a methodological framework which aims to understand the unseen structures of social worlds (Reay, 2004).

Habitus is a theoretical tool which conceptualises the ways acquired attitudes and dispositions influence people to become the people they are (Bourdieu, 1990; Webb *et al.*, 2002). Yet although it may seem that habitus is a deterministic concept, Bourdieu countered this, claiming that although habitus is linked with cultural fields and capital, the same habitus can lead to different practices (Reay, 2004). Habitus takes account of objectivist structures and subjective experiences, as although people are in the social world, the social world is also in people (Bourdieu, 1977).

Objective, societal structures influence subjective, individual practices; habitus is, therefore, an embodied, multi-layered experience. Values and beliefs, which are durable and transposable across fields, dispose people towards certain types of behaviour in everyday life and operate at a partly unconscious level across a range of activities including eating, speaking and gesturing (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990).

Teachers have an intriguing and shared professional biography. They come to their professional position with accumulated knowledge and experience of schooling. As pupils they have experience of schooling in Primaries and High Schools, and then later as students in Higher Education. It may be argued therefore that the women teachers in this study, through the process of socialisation, have a common embodied habitus and an accumulation of cultural capital. They shared a disposition that could be described as conventional; they seemed to hold moderate opinions; they were caring towards children and were often motivated by concerns with social justice.

They were comfortable in a classroom, a space which may be considered to belong to children rather than adults (cf. Chapter 7, p.194). They generally adopted a normalised, respectable ‘teacherly appearance’; their clothing while smart, seldom took the shape of dark, crisply tailored suits nor was it outrageously ‘edgy’ in style nor dramatic in colour. Their general appearance was invisibly feminine rather than overtly feminised or masculinised. However, reflecting societal structures, the teachers had variations in their experiences.

Cultural Capital

Bourdieu proposed cultural capital as a theoretical construct which focuses on the value of culturally authorised tastes, attributes, skills and awards (Webb *et al.*, 2002; Bourdieu, 2006). Cultural capital exists in three forms: in the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalised state (Bourdieu, 2006). Bourdieu explained that the embodied nature of cultural capital cannot be transmitted instantaneously but takes place through unconscious inculcation, into for example the working classes, and is demonstrated through speech and gesture (Bourdieu, 2006). The objectified state takes the form of cultural goods such as books or pictures which can be accumulated through transmission, however, this form of capital is symbolic as it is effective in the struggle between fields only when it is considered worthy of being sought after in a particular culture (Webb *et al.*, 2002; Bourdieu, 2004). The institutionalised state takes account of institutional recognition of academic qualifications or academic credentials (Bourdieu, 2006).

Education therefore is a valuable form of capital as it is transferrable to economic capital, but the value of knowledge is variable. Formal learning, especially accredited learning such as a Bachelor of Education Degree, is conferred higher value than practical learning (Webb *et al.*, 2002) such as learning how to write on a chalkboard. However, as suggested earlier, the value of women’s intellect (cf. Chapter 1, p.1) has been constructed as of lesser value. This has long been and continues to be the case; from the absence of the lass o’ pairs (cf. Chapter 1, p.2) to the description of the Bachelor of Education as a sub-degree (cf. Chapter 3, p.83). Additionally, as education can be prized more highly by those who already know

how to perform valued ways of knowing, a lack of understanding of how to engage in such performance can also perpetuate inequality (Webb *et al.*, 2002).

I had then begun to think generally of the cultural capital women possess and how this could operate to include them in the social world, to empower or alternatively to exclude, to restrict and control. I had pondered, “How useful is Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital in understanding the women teachers in this study?”

All the women had institutionalised capital in the form of formal teaching qualifications that they were able to exchange for work as a teacher. As mentioned previously, the women also had embodied capital in the manner they inhabited spaces as teachers. This capital was unconsciously increased as they had become acculturated into their shared world of teaching. Indeed, over time they had developed further their ‘teacherly disposition’.

As students in Universities and teachers in schools, the women also had access to much objectified capital such as texts in libraries and computers. However, it was the value of teacher learning that I considered problematic.

While some of the teachers had engaged in accredited learning such as ChT (GTCS, 2009) or the SQH (SEED, 2005) which along with increased professional knowledge, had operated to widen available opportunities and to gain promotion, many more had not. Instead most of the CTs whom Bourdieu, in contrast to Gramsci, would class as intellectual workers (Webb *et al.*, 2002), as I go on to discuss more fully in Chapter 7 (p.193), focused their learning solely around improving children’s learning. Although they engaged in learning that improved their practice, it often had little value in the wider field of education. The knowledge accrued in these instances through teacher learning rather than enhancing their status operated to reinforce their position as CTs. Restricting learning to issues around pedagogy had even seemed to diminish the CT’s ability and preparedness to participate in wider professional debate.

During the time that I was engaged in interviewing and data analysis, by revisiting the literature in light of the propositions I interpreted as important, I thus found

conceptual focus. However, although I argue the guide I adopted, which takes account of feminism, gender, hegemony, field, habitus and cultural capital, was useful and allowed me to build theory in this study, I am aware it has limitations.

Critique: limitations of the theoretical guide

Thus far, I have laid out the theories that I used to bring conceptual focus to my study. Feminist literatures brought focus to why gender continues to matter along with how gender influenced the women's experiences of learning. Bourdieu's thinking tools of disposition and habitus played a part in understanding how knowing and learning were valued and how the interactions between the fields of policy and practice had provided or limited learning spaces.

However, although I found the aforementioned theories useful they are not without critique from the wider academic community.

Francis (2008a) draws attention to the problematic nature of the deconstruction of sex and gender. In a critique of Connell's (1995) notion of masculinities and femininities, Francis claims that categorisations of masculinities and femininities at times may suggest 'something more fixed than is the case' (2008a, p.212). In relation to this study, however, a more relevant critique may come from those who point out that while claiming that biological sex does not determine gender performance, some studies then go on to present empirical evidence which indicates boys/men perform masculinities while girls/women perform femininities without seriously deconstructing the meaning of gender (Francis, 2008a). Such critique could be made of my analysis which seemed to do more to confirm the notion that gender stereotypes are tied to the sexed body than to refute it (Francis, 2008a).

However, it is the socially constructed nature of how children during schooling are socialised into performances of gender, that I claim is of importance in this study. Schooling and learning seemed to be gendered experiences each reinforcing the other. In order to bring about more equitable learning practices, further understanding of women teachers' early socialisation during schooling is still required. In this respect, rather than 'perpetuating a [biological] essentialist view of gender' (Francis, 2008a, p.213) I aimed to highlight some of the ways power

relations, as experienced during schooling, constrain performance to ‘socially ascribed’ (Francis, 2008a, p.212) masculinities and femininities. Bourdieu’s theories therefore offered a way to understand further, why agency in gender performance seemed to be constrained by the sexed body.

However, I must confess that the study women, like those in Skegg’s (1995b) study who did not speak of class in a study about class, did not themselves speak about gender. I argue, however, ‘it was articulated through discourses’ (Skeggs, 1995b, p.201) of unexamined subordination and apologetic explanation of their lack of success during their lived experiences of schooling and learning (cf. Chapter 6, p.184). Therefore taking a lead from Skeggs (1995b), I had not expected the women to talk of gender but as a researcher argue it is defensible that I used this theoretical construct to explain and interpret the nature of the women teachers’ social experience.

Hill, McLaren, Cole and Rikowski (2002), however, provide a sustained critique of those who muddy the Marxist waters with postmodern thinking and my thinking undeniably leans towards the local, as I adopt a constructivist stance. Yet although Gramsci’s thinking is proudly Marxist, Bourdieu resisted the constraint of belonging to only the Marxist or any other ideological camp (Adkins, 2004a). I looked to Bourdieu’s eclectic approach and aimed to echo his belief that looking across disciplines, rather than bounding thinking by stubborn adherence to only one isolated viewpoint, could open rather than close the spaces available for original thinking. This, however, required scrupulous consideration of principles and key tenets to ensure a thinking rather than ‘academic name dropping’ approach (Entwistle, 1979, p.1), to ensure complex theories were not used cosmetically like ‘intellectual hair-spray’ (Hey, 2003 cited in Reay, 2004, p.432). I claim, however, that I have successfully achieved this as my theoretical guide provided space for fresh thinking concerning teacher behaviours and dispositions when learning.

Yet Alexander (1995) condemns Bourdieu’s thinking as sociological reductionism. Alexander (1995) accuses Bourdieu of simply reducing ideas to their social origins. *Habitus*, Alexander (1995, p.136) claims, is not ‘a site for voluntarism – for improvising within certain limits – but as the reflection and replication of exterior

structures'. Bourdieu's apparent determinism between the actions of the individual relationally to the structure of their internalised, familiar social field is often alleged as a downfall of his work (Adkins and Skeggs, 2004). However, Sayer (1999, p.404), in a sympathetic critique of Bourdieu, claims this is as a result of an oversimplified reading as:

sociological reductionism implies a relativist stance towards judgement, the critical thrust of much of Bourdieu's work is not relativist; for example, he frequently claims that forms of 'misrecognition' are present in social practice.

Yet Sayer (1999, p.404) does concede:

Nevertheless, I would argue that his empirical analyses are indeed characterised by a strong sociological reductionism, evident particularly in his reluctance to acknowledge that actors' judgements and actions can at least in part be disinterested.

Lawler (2004) comments, while Bourdieu's thinking can rightly be critiqued due to its pessimism, that this position is unreasonably misrepresented as determinism, as it is the dilemma of the determinism/freedom binary that Bourdieu sought to understand and overcome (Bourdieu, 2000; Adkins, 2004b).

However, in a thesis concerned with women, Bourdieu's lack of attention to gender cannot go without mention. Bourdieu, like Kohlberg (cf. Chapter 3, p.87) and Gramsci (cf. Chapter 4, p.118), considered social reality rationally from the perspective of men's ways of knowing, using traditional concepts of structure and agency with less regard for Other ways of knowing. Bourdieu rarely engaged with feminist theory and had little interest in gender (Adkins, 2004a). That is not to say though that his tools for thinking cannot be used to understand the perspective of the Other. Bourdieu's social theory has much to offer socio-cultural analysis of gender (Adkins, 2004a), an area left largely unproblematised in Gramsci's thinking.

Gramsci's work also has its critics, so although useful in understanding how one group of teachers dominated another group by consensus, Gramsci's theorising focused on a socialist, political strategy (McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2002) rather than a concern to address gender inequality or injustice in education. So although

Gramsci's theories challenged capitalism through Marxism, he did take a traditional, conservative approach to schooling (Entwistle, 1979) in an apparent contradiction to his belief in radical socio-political change (Grek, 2007).

Gramsci's thinking around education was complex and shifting. At times, he seemed ambiguous regarding the place of progressive education. Yet although Gramsci was committed to bring about change to social structures, his traditional approach to schooling contributed to and sustained the power inscribed in a male dominated view of the world rather than challenging it. Gramsci's claim that teachers are not organic intellectuals reinstates some of the functional and deterministic aspects of Marxist thought. Notably, both traditional and progressive education construct girls as passive receivers rather than active investigators (Steedman, 1985). Although Gramsci made frequent mention of children and childhood, more often this generalisation signaled a reference to boys. Gramsci's lack of attention to gender was perhaps exacerbated by commonsense thinking; his own thinking was perhaps left unexamined due to his role as the father of two sons (Crehan, 2002). This can be seen in his deliberations of Meccano as a toy likely to stimulate or stifle creative thinking (Entwistle, 1979). He did not give similar consider to girls' toys (Crehan, 2002). Furthermore, echoing the ideology of the lad o'pairs (cf. Chapter 1, p.2), Gramsci also seemed to restrict the potential for advancement through intellect (2007, p.202) to boys:

The peasant always thinks at least one of his sons could become an intellectual (especially a priest), which means becoming a gentleman, thus raising the social level of the family.

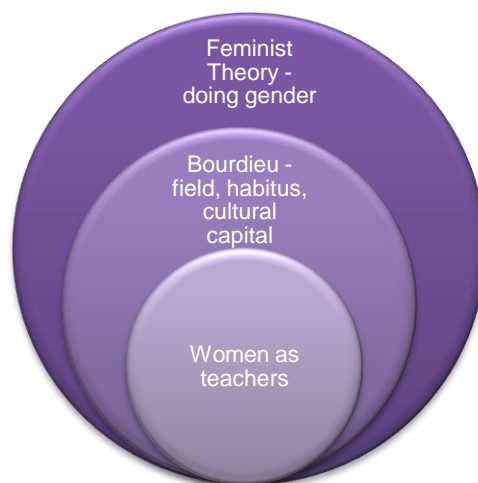
So like Kohlberg (1981) and Bourdieu, Gramsci's commonsense view of childhood was from the perspective of a male perspective. His theory of education placed women as unknowing guardians of traditional dominant divisions of power (Walkerdine, 1990).

Gramsci's thinking, however, had been vital in alerting me to the notion of the commonsense view of the world and to focusing my attention on issues of power and subordination at macro and meso levels, at societal and policy levels. The constructs

of 'doing gender' and habitus then brought conceptual focus at the micro-level to the experiences of the women in my study and had seemed the best fit to explain the theory I was in the process of constructing.

My thinking thus honed by the aforementioned theorists, I constructed the theoretical guide that follows (See Figure 8 Theoretical guide).

Figure 8 Theoretical guide



The diagram represents my theoretical guide as layers of worlds within worlds. At the heart of this study were the women Primary Teachers whose lives took place in gendered social realities. I suggest the social realities are constructed in part by discourses which influenced and shaped their experiences of schooling and later their teaching as work. These discourses were legitimised by the fields of policy and of practice, of experience. The worlds (cf. Figure 11 Diagram representing attributed significant characteristics of Primary Teachers as caring women, p.149) of the women Primary Teachers were therefore influenced by layers of habitus and gender.

Summary

Drawing on the work of Gramsci (2007) can provide a framework to develop consciousness of dominant practices (MacDonald, 2004), consciousness of those who hold power and how they use it (Grek, 2007).

Gramsci was concerned to develop consciousness of the dominant ideas and ruling practices of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat (Grek, 2007). Yet his theories can

arguably be applied to the analysis of other forms of dominance in society including that of gender. Gramsci's theories can be used to show how dominant relations are sustained by dominant ideas and practices in most spheres of social life. However, as I aimed not only to identify but also to explain the influence of hegemonic practices on the women Primary Teachers' experiences, Gramsci's theories had seemed not to be the most powerful tools to do so.

Bourdieu on the other hand aimed to understand the place of education in maintaining power structures (2000). This brought into focus the role of schooling as a site of reproduction. Bourdieu further conceptualised habitus (1990) as a means to explain day-to-day practices in 'both specific and general socio-cultural contexts' (Webb *et al.*, 2002, p.15). Bourdieu's theories it had seemed could be used to theorise agency, the social space the women had to perform gender. This then could lead to a more nuanced understanding of the place of structure and agency in shaping the women's gendered experiences of learning. Habitus therefore became a valuable tool in trying to explain why the social structures that exploited the women continued to dominate.

Feminist theory finally provided a guide to understand the nature of the lived experience as a woman (Francis, 2006a). Adopting the theoretical guide of doing gender (Butler, 1990) allowed space to recognise a multiplicity of femininities and illuminated how the study women produced themselves in relation to socio-cultural and historical conditions. Examination of the dominant discourses that had shaped the women's experiences revealed the interconnectedness of women teachers' realities, how they had come to have a private understanding of learning which then, as a limiting form of capital, subordinated some of the women in the public, professional realm.

In the chapter that follows, I turn to describe my research design. I begin by introducing my ontological and epistemological position, as Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) remind us that these positions signal assumptions which have implications for data collection and analysis.

Chapter 5

Carrying out the study: methodological approach and method

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I introduced the theoretical guide which initially sensitised my thinking, then as data construction and analysis progressed, guided my theorising.

Schram (2006, p.v, emphasis in the original) suggests a researcher must question ‘both *how* one sees and how *one* sees’. Taking heed of Schram’s counsel, it is important at this point to make plain that this is a qualitative study and that the thinking which informed the design of this study is undeniably embedded in *my* view and understanding of the social world and the research process.

Ontological and epistemological assumptions play a significant part in shaping methodological positions and these then influence how research is conducted (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995). Although qualitative research studies are now commonplace, the lure of the positivist tradition has been strong in spite of my belief in investigation of the social world using qualitative approaches! I begin therefore by making my epistemological stance clear. I explain why I adopted this position then follow briefly with some reasons for rejecting others.

Methodology

Silverman (2009, p.7) stresses the sense of aligning a thesis with a previous classic study in order not to ‘reinvent the wheel’. Bechhofer and Paterson (2000) suggest the controlled experiment can be treated as the gold standard for research design. They claim the success of other research designs can be evaluated against the controlled experiment. During the earliest stages of research design, this advice had been thought provoking. While both offered valuable guidance, which could have facilitated my desire to carry out a reliable, trustworthy study, neither suggestion,

seemed to ‘fit’ with the position I felt compelled to adopt. I then began to understand more clearly the importance of an epistemological stance that:

using a methodology is not a matter of choosing an approach from some methodological supermarket, but something that has wider and deeper ramifications

(Bryant, 2002, p.26).

Developing methodological clarity, however, required more than debating the merit of positivist against interpretive paradigms. Although Elliot (2005) claims quantitative and qualitative methods are no longer located simply within one approach or the other, the dichotomizing of quantitative and qualitative perspectives can still be ‘a restless issue’ (Schram, 2006, p.5). Thinking across methodological boundaries by using mixed methods (Creswell, 2003) is advocated when attempting to set bipolar thinking aside and to develop creative paradigms for enquiry.

However, aspects of an enquiry may require acknowledgement that a qualitative rather than a quantitative orientation provides a better ‘fit’ to meet the aims of a study. Yet even then, as Bryant (2002, p.32) stress shaking off the scientific, positivist ‘inheritance’ can be challenging when the quality of a study will still often be judged in relation to the criteria of accuracy and generalisability.

The ‘mind-set’ (Schram, 2006, p.6) I brought to this research was predisposed to develop theory based not only in events but also in meanings. I therefore rejected statistical descriptions of social phenomena for this study, as my approach was not characterised by finding a singular truth that had universality. Rather, this study was underpinned by a desire to investigate and deeply understand social phenomena (Johnson, 2001) which were not necessarily observable specifically, women Primary Teachers’ habitus and the ways this had shaped their experiences and negotiations of teacher learning. Developing theory in this instance was not synonymous with ‘“law-like” generalizations’ (Bryant, 2002, p.30) but emphasised the complexity and importance of local concerns at national, Education Authority and individual levels. As we see later in Chapter 8 (p.225), macro, meso and micro levels of influence had a place in shaping socio-cultural constructions of knowledge in this study.

Adopting an interpretivist, constructivist stance therefore allowed me to respond to ideas as their importance to participants became apparent in context. This enabled 'thick' descriptions of issues (Punch, 1998, p.192) to be constructed in order that the complexity and multi-layered nature of culturally embedded experiences could be acknowledged. Narrowly focusing on Silverman's advice, I could have designed a tightly structured statistical study which might have tested causal explanations and generalisations but revealed nothing more than confirmation of previously identified theory (Robson, 2002); a reasonable outcome when aiming not 'to reinvent the wheel' (Silverman, 2009, p.7). In this study, however, the tools for the trade were found not in quantitative but in qualitative approaches.

In this study, I aimed to move beyond description and explanation to theory construction. If education policy reform is to be successful in meeting the needs of all children in Scotland (Scottish Government [SG], 2008), I suggest further understanding of the influence of the policy field on women Primary Teachers' professional learning practices is necessary. Furthermore, understanding women and their learning over time may also be of use in understanding learning more generally. As I did not aim, however, to set aside what is known (Silverman, 2009), I grounded my understanding in existing literatures but maintained flexibility in data collection methods and construction of meaning to allow space for participants' voices and new understandings to be constructed and interpreted. In doing so I aimed to progress theorising of women Primary teachers' perspectives within an enriched framework for understanding women teachers' professional learning.

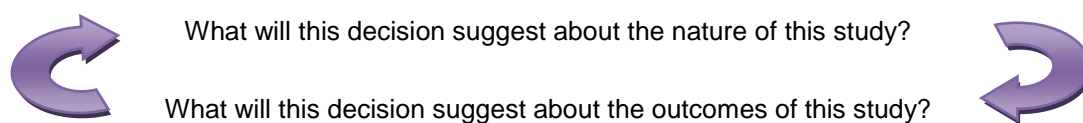
However, while on the one hand making claim to a methodological stance makes clear a researcher's revealed position, I am aware that at the same time it invites critique of the position and the success of its deployment.

Dey's (1999) skepticism regarding authoritative claims provided useful advice regarding the danger of preaching one thing while practising another. However, Dey (1999, p.xiii) also points out that as researchers 'we have to give some account of what we do'.

Rather than acting as a methodological straitjacket that restricted and delineated knowledge production, claiming an epistemological position acted as a means to clarify the purposes at times hidden by my actions. However, claiming an epistemological position and simply declaring it obscures the activity preceding the claim. My stance altered as the research progressed. My thinking was further stimulated by the process of writing this thesis. In common I am sure with many other Doctoral students, writing this thesis made clear to me just how little understanding I had about the ‘big ideas of education’.

However, as presenting a thesis requires the telling of the research story, I turn now to discuss the method adopted for data construction, namely grounded theory. I must stress, however, decisions regarding the methodology and methods were guided by a more dynamic process than the linear process suggested by writing. Instead, decision-making was a process of continually reflecting, looking back and checking forwards (See Figure 9 Methodology and methods decision-making).

Figure 9 Methodology and methods decision-making



Having made clear the positioning of this study as interpretivist and constructivist, I next make clear my decision making regarding my method of enquiry.

Method of enquiry

Grounded theory is argued variously to be a methodological stance (Schram, 2006) used for the production of knowledge (Legewie and Schervier-Legewie, 2004 cited in Reichertz, 2007, p.214), an epistemologically-based research method (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007a) and, used erroneously some would claim (Hood, 2007), at times merely as a set of guidelines for data collection and analysis.

Grounded theory's roots lie in the work of Strauss and Glaser (1967). Strauss and Glaser (1967) discovered grounded theory in the 1960s and in titling their book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* seem to indicate their epistemological stance along

with a practical aim to detail the research method. In light of my foregoing assertion and desire to avoid a scientific, positivist stance, my choice of grounded theory as a method for enquiry may appear surprising. However, Charmaz (2006) claims grounded theory can be adopted by those claiming a constructivist stance.

Grounded theory

The aim of grounded theory is, through systematic, inductive, comparative analysis, to generate or discover a theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Dey, 1999; Bryant and Charmaz, 2007b). The theory is constructed (Charmaz, 2006) through ‘persistent interaction’ (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007b, p.1) with actors in social contexts. The focus emerges in context through data construction which begins early in the research process rather than through engagement with literature which is purposefully avoided ‘in order to assure the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas’ (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.37).

I am aware that this study would fail to meet the approval of Glaser. My constructivist standpoint does not fit the classical grounded theory realist stance that a core category is present in data and simply waiting to emerge (Glaser, 1992; Artinian, Giske and Cone, 2009). In spite of a concern to develop a method which can be used in flexible and creative ways, Glaser and Strauss’ (1967) thinking appears to be restricted to the creation of theory and not to the method itself. Glaser remains defensive of the original conceptualisation of grounded theory describing it as ‘classical’ or ‘orthodox’ (Grounded Theory Institute, 2009) and claims that any remodelling serves only to demonstrate misunderstanding and a lack of reverence for the original model. As my use of grounded theory was driven by a concern to construct theory that was embedded in the actions and experiences of the main participants, women Primary Teachers, I counter that theoretical categories were not there simply waiting to be discovered.

The theory I constructed was not waiting to emerge but came about because of the interactions between the participants and myself at a particular time and place. My theory is an interpretation (Bryant, 2002; Charmaz, 2006; Bryant and Charmaz, 2007a) of these social interactions based in my research interests. Another

researcher with a different focus or theoretical perspective may have constructed an alternative interpretation (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). However, to bring about these interpretations I followed some of Strauss and Corbin's (1998) advice regarding the grounded theory process. So although my approach may be viewed a little more favourably by Strauss, my deviance from the detail of the 'how to do grounded theory' model prescribed by Strauss and Corbin (1998) would also stimulate debate.

Although careful to claim that *The Basics of Qualitative Research* is 'not a recipe book' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p.xi, emphasis in the original), personal interpretation of the method seems not really to be encouraged. This is unsurprising as Strauss and Corbin (1998, p.42) also adopt a realist stance and maintain that 'Objectivity is necessary to arrive at an impartial and accurate interpretation of events.'. However, in contrast, I stress my subjectivity in this study. Strauss and Corbin therefore would likely be critical of my elastic use of grounded theory. As I acknowledged multiple realities, this study would perhaps find favour with Charmaz (2006) who along with other researchers (Bryant, 2002) have moved beyond the positivist traditions of grounded theory to stress its constructivist possibilities. Indeed Charmaz (2006) stresses the relationship between the participants and the subjectivity of the researcher who engages in an act of interpretation when aiming to understand the participants' interpretation of their experiences. 'Constructivist grounded theorists assume that both data and analyses are social constructions' (Charmaz, 2006, p.131).

Yet although in this respect my thinking was very close to Charmaz's (2006), whether it is appropriate to claim this was a grounded theory study is still contestable as will become even more apparent in the next section, where I detail the process of data construction.

Data construction

Due to the nature of this study, it was not possible to carry out data collection precisely in the manner advised in grounded theory texts. That acknowledged, my approach encapsulated the key features of grounded theory studies. Sensitising concepts (Charmaz, 2006) (cf. Table 2, p.96) and potential theoretical guides (cf. Figure 8 Theoretical guide, p.119) were identified at the start of this study and used

as entry points rather than as a framework to define and constrain the study. Data construction and analysis, as far as was possible in relation to access to participants (cf. Chapter 5, p.142) took place simultaneously in order to pursue early themes. Sampling was theoretical in order to build theory rather than to prove a hypothesis. Therefore, I argue I did adopt the key features of grounded theory.

Sensitising concepts

Drawing on my own experiences as a teacher and an initial broad exploration of the literature (Dey, 1993) (cf. Chapter 3, p.44), a number of issues were identified as 'sensitising concepts' (Blumer, 1969 cited in Charmaz, 2006, p.16) (cf. Table 2 Sensitising concepts, p.96), namely that of professionalism, learning and of woman. These concepts were then used to guide an admittedly small pilot study (Ezzy, 2002) of only 3 participants. The 3 participants were women Primary teachers known to me previously. The data constructed from these interviews were not included in the main study.

The aim of the pilot study was to construct tentative ideas, to stimulate my theorising. Although the imposition of a conceptual guide prior to data analysis did not fit with the inductive nature of grounded theory and would be considered a 'methodological sin' (Dey, 1999, p.14) by Glaser, Dey (1993, p.65) stresses 'an open mind is not an empty head'. Researchers bring accumulated knowledge to any study. Unknowing the knowledge that prompts a researcher to design a study would not be possible. Furthermore, I argue it would be undesirable. Before embarking on research, it is necessary to find a focus. Indeed within the constraints imposed by Doctoral study it is unlikely that either supervisors nor Progression Boards would encourage novice researchers to embark on data collection without some notion of what they were about to collect. Wisely having found a focus and having carefully examined my assumptions, my theoretical guide then guided rather than determined the study (Dey, 1993).

Having unburdened myself of my methodological sin, I now go on to detail data construction.

Research location

The study took place in a medium-sized EA which had been described in a HMIe EA inspection report as well performing.

Pragmatically, the authority was chosen as the location allowed frequent access throughout the course of data construction. Furthermore, locating the study in only one EA allowed me to explore in some depth the hierarchical nature of educational policy. I was able to consider issues of power at both national and EA policy levels along with its influence in shaping women Primary Teachers' learning. I had considered expanding the research site across authorities but anticipated that defending theory based on findings from a number of EAs could be problematic. Variations in teachers' access to professional learning and in strategic EA aims could have deflected my focus away from developing an in-depth understanding of some women's experiences to a comparison of opportunities.

Selecting one school as a site and understanding the complexity of teacher learning in one unique setting was also considered but rejected. Examining women Primary Teachers' response to issues of power was a main research aim, limiting the study to one school may have made this difficult if the management ethos regarding teacher learning did not match that of the teachers. As discussed earlier in Chapter 3 (cf. p.51), participants may have knowingly adopted compliant perspectives rather than risking revealing conflicting views (MacDonald, 2004). This possibility was lessened by locating the study across schools.

Stake (1995) though points to the value of the case study approach when researchers seek to understand stories people tell about their activities in their day-to-day environments. Robson (2002) concurs, indicating case studies are concerned with analytical rather than statistical generalization, to enable a thorough understanding of the case of interest. However, this study cannot be defined as a case study. Even taking into account Hitchcock and Hughes' (1995) advice of the usefulness of case studies when the researcher is integrally involved in the case and is concerned to portray the richness of the case in the report, does not make it so. Case studies are defined by the selection of a case within a population in order to set the limits for the generalisability of the findings (Eisenhardt, 2002). The focus of this study was not a

case within a bounded system (Stake, 1995). Rather, the focus was the women's revealed perceptions. That they worked within the same authority was of less significance.

Having outlined my decisions for locating this study in the specified location, I now discuss the women Primary Teachers who were the main participants.

Participants

Throughout this thesis, the women Primary teachers who enabled this study to go ahead are referred to as participants rather than respondents or even interviewees. My choice of terminology is deliberate. Rather than adopting the position that the teachers were passive respondents, able to provide information from their 'repository of answers' (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001, p.3), I locate the teachers as participants to acknowledge the active role they played in the construction of the interviews.

The study participants were employed as teachers at the time of the study. They all claimed to engage in professional learning and as participation was voluntary, all appeared to have some interest in reflecting on their own learning. Additionally, as can be seen in the table which follows (See Table 3 The women), the women were at varied career stages as this allowed exploration of how perspectives on teacher learning may change over time.

Table 3 The women participants

Name	Length of teaching career	Teaching qualifications		Teaching status	Additional information
		Initial	Additional		
Daisy	Probation	PGDE ¹⁵		Class teacher	
Jill	Probation	PGDE		Class teacher	
Karen	1 year	PGDE		Class teacher	
Grace	3 years	BE ¹⁶		Class teacher	
Kate	6 years	PGCE ¹⁷		Class teacher	Out of class - McCrone cover/Probationer Cover
Claire	8 years	BE ¹⁶		Class teacher	
Fay	9 years	PGCE		Class teacher	Network Leader
Debbie	10 years	BE ¹⁶		Class teacher	On ChT programme/Probationer Mentor
Ellie	15 years	BE ¹⁶		Class teacher	Part time/Supply/Additional Support for Learning Teacher
Ruby	15 years	PGCE	ME ¹⁸	Chartered teacher	Additional Support for Learning Teacher
Lucy	16 years	BE ¹⁶		Class teacher	
Gail	20 years	BE ¹⁶		Class teacher	
Jane	21 years	DipPrimEd ¹⁹		Nursery teacher	
Dawn	25 years	DipPrimEd	ME ¹⁸	Chartered teacher	
Mandy	25 years	PGCE	ME ¹⁸	Chartered teacher	
Tanya	26 years	DipPrimEd		Nursery teacher	Part time/Probation Mentor
Sue	28 years	DipPrimEd	BA ²⁰	Class teacher	On ChT prog
Laura	30 years	DipPrimEd	ME ¹⁸	Chartered teacher	Probationer Mentor

¹⁵ PGDE – Post Graduate Diploma in Education

¹⁶ BE¹⁶ – Bachelor of Education

¹⁷ PGCE – Post Graduate Certificate in Education

¹⁸ ME¹⁸ – Master of Professional Enquiry in Education

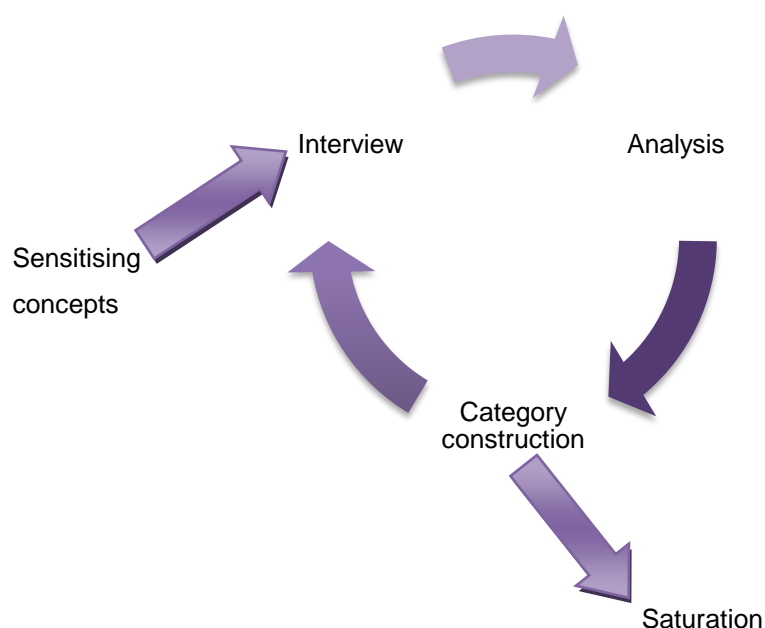
¹⁹ DipPrimEd - Diploma in Primary Education

²⁰ Bachelor of Arts

The question of ‘how many participants?’ had not been clear until data construction was underway. Kvale (1996, p.101) advises that ‘as many subjects as necessary to find out what you need to know’ are needed for a study but 15 ± 10 people may be appropriate when taking into account time, resources and data saturation. However, when using grounded theory Charmaz (2006, p.113) stresses, sampling stops when saturation occurs when ‘fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of these core theoretical categories’.

The women were therefore theoretically sampled and identified during data construction and analysis (Ezzy, 2002) This was an iterative process. Analysis followed interviewing; part of the focus of the interviews that followed was to then illuminate and further define issues that had become important. Eventually theoretical saturation took place (Ezzy, 2002) (See Figure 10 Data construction process).

Figure 10 Data construction process



So guided by sensitising concepts and advice regarding data saturation, I identified the women Primary teachers through cold contacts, professional contacts, networks and informal channels by using the following method for data construction.

Data construction

Although the main data construction took place through interviews with women Primary Teachers, the use of a combination of data construction methods allowed me to capture the complexity of human experience more fully and also strengthened the claims I make (Cohen *et al.*, 2007). However, I remain mindful of Silverman's (2005) warning that even when multiple methods of data construction are employed, that data cannot be simply aggregated to discover 'the truth' (p.122) if, as in my case, this thinking does not fit the theoretical perspective of the researcher. However, as social constructivist theory underpinned this study and the teachers' learning did not take place in an absence of either structural influence or power dynamics; I argue it was appropriate to explore multiple perspectives that together constructed the teachers' realities.

As my research took place mainly in one Education Authority, I followed convention and adopted a top-down approach. During September 2007, I sought permission from the Director of Education to carry out the study (See Appendix i, p.323) I was granted approval and provided with the contact details for the QIOs whom the Director considered had a direct connection to CPD.

I then made contact by email with the EA CPD Co-ordinator, in order to begin to explore the official perspective of CPD within the study EA.

During that same period, I carried out analysis of the professional standards, the SITE (GTCS, 2006b), SFR (GTCS, 2006a), SCT (GTCS, 2009), and SHQ (SEED, 2005) (cf. Chapter 2, p.21). I also analysed EA documentation and 'grey' literature pertaining to CPD to provide contextual data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 cited in Cohen *et al.*, 2007, p.182). I searched the documents electronically, where possible, to identify frequent and infrequent word usage and began to construct themes around the dominant and subordinate discourses in the policy constructions of a teacher and of teacher learning. This allowed later comparison of policy perspectives with those of the women Primary Teachers. As grounded theory is underpinned by the process of constant comparison (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006) analysis between official and negotiated practices then became possible. In this study, analytical comparison was an ongoing process. Comparison of constructions of

professionalism, teachers as women and teacher learning took place within policy, within interviews, then across policies with other policies, then across interviews with other interviews, then finally across policies and interviews.

To return, however, to the process of data construction, during September 2008 I displayed 3 A3 sized posters (See Appendix ii, p.324) outlining the nature of the study in the local Education Centre. I sent A4 sized copies to all of the EA's Primary and Nursery schools. I included an accompanying covering letter, which introduced and explained the scope of the study, along with a request to display the poster on Staff Information Boards (See Appendix iii, p.325). I also included approximately 6 leaflets and asked that they too could be made available to staff (See Appendix iv).

While the poster and leaflet invited women Primary teachers to make contact, its main purpose had been to draw attention to the study in order that it became 'known' within the authority, paving the way for me to make later contact with teachers. However, two teachers made contact after seeing the poster. I interviewed both. I had also intended to write a short article for the EA newsletter that previously had been sent to all teachers, again to draw attention to the study, but found publication was suspended so I was not able to follow this aspect of publicity.

The use of field observations was problematic in this study although I considered it vital to make some attempt to return to the 'real world' (Robson, 2002, p.xvi). The confines of the period of study allowed for a Doctoral study were inadequate to observe teachers at work comprehensively, and inappropriate anyway to the aims of this study. So alternatively, following Silverman's (2005, p.172) advice regarding gathering 'a body of good-quality data', I situated myself at the Education Centre as scheduled and focused CPD took place in that location. Women Primary Teachers who were demonstrating willingness to engage in CPD visited there. In doing this, I was able to publicise the study further by making myself known to potential participants.

I was helped to identify appropriate times to 'drop by' the Education Centre by the Administrative Assistant (AA) responsible for the co-ordination of CPD. I was introduced to the AA by the CPD QIO.

The AA was invaluable in informing me month by month of upcoming courses, of the course content and the targeted group of teachers. She put together packs containing course descriptors and introduced me to Course Providers (CPs). She contacted another colleague who gathered information for me regarding how CPs were identified. Her colleague also reproduced and provided me with the documentation given to CPs. The AA also introduced me to a number of QIOs whom she thought would be willing to speak to me if requested, and pointed out others whom she felt might need more a sensitive approach. The AA eased my time in the Education Centre by acting as a guide, making me known and accepted by others and generally assisted me through unfamiliar territory (Wedgwood, 2007; Kean, 2007).

Yet although her help had enabled access to women Primary teachers, it must be noted that the commonality among these teachers was that they were attending courses, not the only form of teacher learning. I therefore sought further ways to identify other sites of teacher learning. At times, I used the Education Centre as the access point to make contacts, at others I followed up contacts suggested by the teacher participants. However, as a number of these learning events took place in other EAs, and so did not fit within the bounds of my study, I decided not to report them in this thesis.

To return to my time in the Education Centre; ‘dropping in’ to the Centre before courses took place allowed me to talk to teachers about their thoughts around learning generally and specifically about the learning they were about to undertake. ‘Sitting in’ on conversations among the waiting teachers stimulated useful insights into how women teachers talk about teacher learning with one another. This time provided the opportunity to talk face-to-face with teachers about the study, to introduce it and to respond more fully to any enquiries they had. This helped build trust with potential participants.

When a teacher expressed an interest in participating, I invited them to give me their email address and I provided them with a leaflet (See Appendix iv, p.326). I stressed that in giving me their details they were under no obligation to participate. I then followed up by email to invite the teachers formally to take part in the study (See

Appendix v, p.327). I again attached a copy of the leaflet to the email to outline the purpose and scope of the research and provided information regarding informed consent. I also attached a copy of the interview outline (See Appendix vi, p.328) in order to allow the teachers to consider their responses. I invited the teachers to contact me by email or phone to arrange a time and place where an interview could take place at their convenience. In order to show my gratitude, I encouraged the women to suggest a social setting such as a café for the interview (cf. Chapter 5, p.154). I stressed, however, that if they preferred not to participate that they need do no more. Most of the women who showed interest made contact. A few emailed to suggest that although they did not have time then, that they would be willing to be contacted again later if I still needed participants.

Over approximately two months, I made contact with a number of interview participants which began a snowball effect (Cohen *et al.*, 2007). One teacher sought me out when she came to the Education Centre having heard about my study from her colleague/friend. She had taken me by surprise when she greeted me warmly with, “Oh, I hoped I’d see you here!” For an instant, I felt I should have known who she was. I was relieved when she quickly went on to explain that she had heard about the study and was keen to help.

Ezzy (2002, p.74), however, is critical of this approach labelling it ‘undesirable’ as the ‘only rationale is ease or convenience’. While I concur that this could be the case, in this study I used the snowball effect to identify women through other women as insiders. The women themselves knew who potentially had the ability to offer insights regarding the themes I was pursuing, and who also would be prepared to contribute. However, this approach was problematic. Locating ‘good’ informants, those who had the necessary knowledge, were capable of reflection and prepared to make time to contribute to the research, as well as being able to identify future participants, was not easy (Morse, 1994 cited in Cohen *et al.*, 2007, p.180). While I cannot claim to have been inundated with volunteers, I did have to engage in a process of evaluation of ‘good’ informants in order to identify those who appeared to be a good theoretical match.

Some women who expressed some interest were therefore not interviewed. Furthermore, although some women had appeared to be a good theoretical match, their narrative had added little to advance my theory. However, at times valuable contradictory evidence came to the fore which needed to be taken account of (Cohen *et al.*, 2007), as constructing theory that can be presented as rich (Punch, 1998; Charmaz, 2006) and credible demands taking account of data that many not be representative (Robson, 2002). In keeping though with grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), I did not seek out negative cases. However, themes which did not seem to contribute to the categories I was constructing were taken account of (Charmaz, 2006). I discuss this later in a description of my data analysis process (cf. p.143).

Having detailed my approach for identifying the women participants, I now move to discuss the approach I adopted for interviewing.

As this study was driven by a desire to build theory around the revealed perspectives of some women Primary Teachers in Scotland, I selected interviewing for the main data construction. Interviewing had appeared a natural choice as I found myself located as one of ‘those people who do tend to think immediately of talking to others and treat this as the method *par excellence*’ (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000, p.56). However, Bechhofer and Paterson (2000) remind us that interviewing requires careful planning and understanding of varied interview types, if the desired outcome is to be achieved.

Mishler (1986) emphasizes the need to listen to individual’s stories during in-depth interviewing and cautions researchers that stories can be suppressed if the researcher trains the interviewee to limit answers to short statements or interrupts narratives. Highlighting the place of ethics in the interview setting, Charmaz (2001) advises sensitivity as interview participants may tell stories they would not normally reveal in other settings.

I decided, therefore, that my role during interviewing would be to stimulate narrative (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001) through dialogue rather than to elicit responses. As indicated earlier, prior to the interview, the teachers were supplied with the interview outline (See Appendix vi, p.328) in order to allow time to consider their responses.

Following Johnson's (2001) advice, the interviews began slowly with 'chit chat' and a few introductory icebreaker questions. This built rapport before I moved to the key questions, which were focused on the research questions.

I began the interviews by asking the women to outline their education history, to share their thoughts about their own education and experiences of schooling. I encouraged them to explain why they had decided to become a teacher. I also offered an outline of my own educational history. This was an attempt to equalise power dynamics by drawing attention to our shared professional habitus. My intention had been to encourage the women to feel at ease. We discussed our perceived differences and similarities of learning at different personal and professional stages. The women reflected on the decisions informing their professional learning experiences.

I had asked the teachers to bring their CPD plans for the upcoming session or their CPD record from the previous session; I had hoped this would provide an insight into the women's responses to policy demands. I also asked the teachers to think about their 'ideal' learning plan. This, I had hoped, would contribute to mapping out their perspectives more fully in order to provide a clearer picture of valued learning. The interviews had ended with an invitation to contribute anything that the participant thought had been overlooked.

Although I intended to interview each teacher on only one occasion, at the end of the interview I did ask each teacher if they would be willing to participate further. When willingness to participate further was expressed, I explained that I might make contact again to ask about new themes (Charmaz, 2001). Although I did not make further face-to-face contact with any of the teachers, I did contact most again by email to ask for expansion of earlier thinking. In one instance, this was to expand on why the women had become teachers.

During the interviews, the questions were framed carefully and asked 'slowly, to foster participant's reflections' (Charmaz, 2001, p.679). As the interviews were semi-structured, the participants had a large degree of freedom in answering. The main body of the interview therefore was often not linear. Rather, the shape of the

interviews were guided by the questions in a manner that aimed to be responsive to the participants as ‘the questions must both explore the interviewer’s topic and fit the participant’s experiences’ (Charmaz, 2001,p.679). Therefore as the research progressed, I introduced topics not covered with earlier participants as their importance to the constructed theory became clearer.

However, although this description succinctly outlines the flow of the interviews it obscures the importance of the introductory questions. As we see later in Chapter 6, (p.162), the responses to these questions became an important focus of this study. It was during this phase that most women spoke most freely and at length, often it seemed surprising themselves of the importance they began to construct around the history of their own learning experiences. So although a set of guiding questions had been designed in advance, the flexible structure allowed the participants to determine the themes they considered most salient and to introduce other areas that they thought were necessary (Charmaz, 2006).

As in-depth interviews can take place for at least an hour (Elliot, 2005) the interviews were digitally recorded with the participants’ agreement. The recording device was a hand-held Sanyo ICR-A-120 recorder that was small enough to be placed unobtrusively on the table between the participant and myself. Generally, the sound quality was good. In the one case where sound was a problem, this was because of excessive background noise. In this case, by using noise suppression software (Audacity, 2008) a free software digital audio editing application, I was able to use the noise removal tool to clean up the recording somewhat, although insufficiently to allow a full transcription to take place. However, as I was able to bring together audible parts of the interview with the notes that I had made at the time, I had been able to write a short report and so included the woman’s perspective in the study. The device failed on two occasions. On the first occasion, I noticed during the interview that the LED was no longer glowing. The participant noticed I had started to make notes and asked why. I explained. She suggested playing the recording back to establish when recording had ceased. Around 30 of 50 minutes had been captured. She suggested we should finish and meet again to redo the beginning. At her insistence, we made a loose arrangement to meet during the

school holidays. I gave her my details and suggested that she could contact me when she returned from her vacation. She understandably did not make contact and I did not pursue a further meeting as I considered it too much of an imposition. However, by using my notes and the partial recording, I was again able to write a short report and so included her in the study. On the second occasion, no recording was captured. I discovered this when I attempted to review the recording. Fortunately, as the participant had been short of time the interview had been scheduled over two occasions. I wrote a short report from the first half and the second part was recorded successfully.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph informal notes, jottings, were made as an aide-memoir to return to specific points during the interviews. As already explained, these notes proved to be invaluable. I had also intended to record notable, non-verbal communication as Drever claims ‘in face-to-face conversation 50% of the information exchanged is non-verbal’, (Drever, 1995, p.15). However, perhaps due to the freedom brought about by interviewing in public places (cf. this chapter, p.135) the women were animated and their voices were expressive, so I found less need for such notes (cf. this chapter, p.144).

Before I embarked on interviewing I had considered using a video camera as the means for recording as Kvale (1996) suggests it is a more effective method for capturing non-verbal language alongside talk. I had a number of concerns, however, about introducing such an imposing level of technology. I was already aware that introducing any recording device would result, no matter how temporarily, in a rather unnatural flow to talk. The participants may have become more concerned to state the ‘correct’ response in educational terminology rather than one more genuinely held and inscribed in everyday practices. Moreover, in recent years formal EA and nationally led projects collecting evidence of ‘best practice’ (cf. Chapter 8, p.240) had resulted in the use of video cameras becoming somewhat prevalent in some schools. Participants may have already had the experience of the pressure and formality that a camera’s gaze can impose. Relatedly, I was also concerned that using a video camera could result in my positioning by the participants with powerful agencies concerned to present the ‘official’ life of a teacher, rather than being

concerned to uncover views and opinions articulated among and by women Primary Teachers. I decided therefore to use the aforementioned hand-held digital-recorder.

Having discussed data construction thus far with regard to analysing policy documents and interviewing women Primary Teachers, I turn now to discuss the interviews conducted with selected opinion shapers.

As a hierarchical structure influenced the teachers' learning, I also interviewed 12 opinion shapers (See Table 4 Opinion shaper participants).

Table 4 Opinion shaper participants

Opinion shaper	Level	Total
Head Teachers	Meso	2
School CPD Co-ordinator	Meso	1
Quality Improvement Officers	Meso	3
Union Learning Representatives Co-ordinator	Macro	1
National CPD Co-ordinator	Macro	1
Director of Educational policy GTCS	Macro	1
HM Inspector, Primary and Nursery Schools	Macro	1
Scottish Government Civil Servant, Learning Directorate	Macro	1
Professor of Education	Macro	1
Director of International, Research and Innovation, LTS	Macro	1

The EA CPD QIO, the Head Teachers and the Primary School CPD Co-ordinator were interviewed during the same time frame as the women Primary teachers in order to explore the connectedness of meso level policy perspectives with the women's perspectives. Two further QIOs for Probationers and Curriculum for Excellence were also interviewed as they expressed a strong interest in CPD. Following a sustained period of analysis and interpretation of the teachers' data, interviews took place later (2009-2010) with:

- the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS) Union Learning Representative (ULR) Co-ordinator
- the National CPD Co-ordinator for Scotland
- the Director of Educational Policy, GTCS
- an HM Inspector responsible for inspecting Primary and Nursery Schools

- a representative from the Scottish Government's Learning Directorate
- a leading academic researching teachers' learning in Scotland and
- the Director of International, Research and Innovation at LTS.

These interviews progressed theorising further and took account of the policy discourses which had shaped teacher learning in Scotland.

Although the opinion shapers' interviews were similar to the teachers in many ways, in others, they were notably different (Delaney, 2007). I had anticipated access would be problematic. However, this was not the case. I requested interviews by email (See Appendix vii, p.329) and attached a copy of the interview outline (See Appendix viii, p.330). The interview requests were responded to promptly. The interviews took place within a reasonable period thereafter.

As public figures speak from a position of power in their professional capacity they are accustomed to adopting a spokesperson role (Delaney, 2007). It can be difficult, therefore, to uncover the thinking and decision making which informed organisational thinking. However, it was important to understand why policy which governs teachers' CPD had evolved as it had. Opinion shapers' perspectives of the focus, purpose and value of teachers' learning have influenced, and at others determined, the spaces available for the teachers to construct their understandings of their learning (cf. Chapter 8, p.225). The opinion shapers interview outline was therefore structured to probe behind the official policy discourse.

Although interviewing, analysis, writing and exploring the literature were interwoven processes, before becoming solely immersed in theorising I had to withdraw from the research site and this, as I discovered, was as problematic as entering had been!

Pertinently, (Robson, 2002) suggests that there is a danger that novice researchers may withdraw too early. Although advancing categories may appear to be saturated, insufficient data may have been gathered to ensure the depth and richness of the findings. Alternatively, an equally important point is brought to the fore by Glaser and Strauss (1967) regarding new issues. New issues will always emerge. However, data construction must end and this should be bounded theoretically.

That said, in this study I encountered the additional constraint of the academic year. Generally, teachers are understandably protective of their recovery time during the Summer break so I had to ensure the teachers' interviews were carried out before the end of June or encounter a lengthy wait until teachers would be prepared to respond to additional demands on their time. However, as I had developed a good rapport with the women, I was comforted in knowing many had encouraged me to make contact again if required. Moreover, data saturation (Charmaz, 2006) did occur, so interviewing had to come to an end. In total 18 teachers and 13 opinion shapers had been interviewed (See Table 3 The women participants p.130 and Table 4 Opinion shaper participants p.140).

Having detailed how data construction took place with the women Primary Teachers and the opinion shapers, I end this section by discussing the timings of the interviews.

The approach I adopted for the timing of the interviews was my most notable deviation from grounded theory. The temporal sequence during data construction is considered very important by advocates of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). They stress the need to collect data, carry out coding and analysis and then to carry out further interviews (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006; Bryant and Charmaz, 2007b). The purpose of subsequent interviews is then, through constant comparison, to develop and refine categories in order to construct robust theory (Charmaz, 2006). However, grounded theory is often applied in the area of health, specifically nursing (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Dey, 1999) and the possibilities and constraints in accessing patients and teachers in their real world environments vary considerably.

While identifying participants in a hospital is constrained by the criteria set for participant inclusion in the study, along with the health of the participants, teacher availability is determined greatly by external constraint, specifically that of the school calendar. There are points in the school year where teachers' time is subject to increased demand. Notably, alongside the daily teaching commitment, at the beginning and end of each term forward plans have to be written. Likewise, the month of December is demanding when additionally teachers have to plan parties,

organise outings to pantomimes and rehearse school plays. I consider inviting teachers to engage in a research process at these times to be inappropriate. So while similar to data collection in hospital where there is a need to be extremely flexible, in schools the time available for flexibility is constrained to short bursts, to the times when teachers can be available rather than simply when the research process demands more data.

Having detailed the process of data construction, I now move to discuss data analysis.

Data analysis

As this study was underpinned by my aim to construct theory, inductive analysis took place based on a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2001; Bryant and Charmaz, 2007b). However, as Robson (2002) reminds us, while grounded theory provides procedures for constructing theory ‘any theoretical rendering offers an *interpretative* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it’ (2006, p.10, emphasis in the original).

Like the investigation of literatures, data analysis was an iterative process beginning during data construction. Repeated close re-reading of the interview transcripts was been an important first step in which I familiarised myself with the interview data as this was the very earliest stage of making analytical sense of this study.

In order to attend to the issue of working with a decontextualised transcript, which can already be considered an interpretation of the original interview (Riessman, 2002), I had firstly listened to each interview without interruption using an iPod. Then before transcription I listened again, pausing, replaying and noting sections that had seemed to be important. This had allowed me to develop a closer relationship with the data, as I not only listened to the spoken words but also the manner in which they had been delivered. As Poland (2001) stresses ontological and epistemological positions, which do not match my own, can be implied when transcription is viewed simply as the production of a verbatim transcript.

Following this repeated re-listening, I then transcribed. The act of transcription itself was subject to many challenges (Poland, 2001). As explained earlier, this had included the quality of some of the recordings (cf. p.138). Sentence structure was also problematic, along with how and when to include paralanguage and non-verbal communications (NVC) as NVC can often convey meaning more accurately than the spoken word (Drever, 1995). In an attempt therefore to represent meanings constructed during the interviews, I had intended to use, and amend where appropriate, the notations offered by Silverman (1993 cited in Poland, 2001) to indicate overlapping speech, pauses, intonation etc.. However, after listening repeatedly to the interviews, I found myself able to replay the voices in my head and so became less reliant on this additional information (cf. this chapter, 139).

When the transcription was completed, I sent the respective transcripts to participants for review. I indicated, as discussed during the interviews, that we could negotiate change if any of the participants were unhappy with the transcript.

Only a small number of changes were made. One teacher inserted her construction of the meaning to parts of the transcript that I had indicated were inaudible. She amended the original from, “I honestly thought that it (inaudible)” to, “I honestly thought that it was a mistake”. Most women responded positively saying they did not want to make changes. A few even commented that they had enjoyed reading back their interview and were happy that they had been able to make the responses they had, “I can’t believe I talked so much! You obviously made me feel relaxed as I don’t usually go on [in so much detail]”.

A small number did not reply. I followed up the non-responses with an email. I explained that although I realised their time was precious, it was important that I knew they were prepared to allow me to use their contribution. In order not to make further demands on their time, I proposed I would take their non-response as confirmation that they agreed to be included. However, if this were not the case that sending a blank reply would indicate withdrawal. No one chose this option.

However, a small number of the teachers indicated a concern not with the content of the transcript but with how it felt to be confronted by speech converted to text, “I

didn't realise I rambled so much – different seeing it in black and white". Yet even though initially it had been unnerving to see their words in print, most women had ended their email along similar lines, "Thanks for sending it though, and of course this seems fine".

One woman, however, did make contact by letter to say she did not want to be included in the study as she was very unhappy with the interview. The tone of her letter had indicated she was somewhat distressed. This presented me with an ethical dilemma. While the British Educational Research Association Ethical Guidelines (British Educational Research Association [BERA], 2004, p.6) emphasise 'the right of any participant to withdraw from the research for any or no reason' the need for researcher sensitivity and reflection is also made clear. I suspected the areas the woman was unhappy with were areas I considered of less importance to this study and that it was the disjunction between speech and text that was problematic; text is linear, but speech can have a jerkiness as meaning is also conveyed by body language and intonation (Groundwater-Smith and Mockler, 2009). During the interview, I had stressed how interesting her thinking was and how it would allow a view of learning that was not often being mentioned to be included.

Following a few days reflection, I made contact by email. I indicated that I was disappointed by her decision and reiterated that she had made a very valuable contribution to the study, as her thinking around teacher learning had not been typical. I asked if she would consider editing the parts of the transcript that she did not want to contribute and email me any parts that could be left in. I explained other women had experienced some angst at seeing their words, "in black and white", I stressed, however, she did not have to reply if this was unacceptable, and that I would accept her non-response as an indication of withdrawal. I was pleased, however, when she did respond. She had edited many of the parts that I had anticipated she would but left the main body of the text largely untouched. Following further reflection, I consider my response was ethically informed. However, I cannot deny my self-interest in the outcome, but in this instance that was less important. Talking to me in order to contribute to this study had brought about harm to this woman. My imperative had been to find a way to improve how she felt.

I hope my reassurances to some extent have improved her experience of engaging in a research process.

My ethical struggle, however, was not limited to this instance; I therefore to discuss researching with integrity more fully in a later section in this chapter (cf. p.154), but for now I return to data analysis.

Upon return from the participants, I searched the electronic transcripts during reading and electronically, to identify potentially critical concepts. When I identified common themes, I used different coloured text to highlight illustrative comments. This was the first step in fracturing and analysing the data (Holton, 2007), and when I began to 'hear' what the teachers were saying.

I then carried out line-by-line coding (Charmaz, 2006) for the first interview by electronically attaching notes using the Comments facility in Microsoft Word (See Appendix ix, p.331). I repeated the process for the second interview. I used previous codes if they were applicable, but expanded or combined codes and generated new codes when necessary. Using the Microsoft application OneNote (Microsoft, 2010) I then copied the word documents into a new page in OneNote as, unlike Microsoft Word, this application allowed the main text to be separated from comments, which was my next stage in organising the data (See Appendix x, p.332).

I then allocated each teacher a different colour and formatted her transcript, the interview and the comments in her unique colour. I then cut and pasted the codes, previously held as comments, into a further document and began to group the codes into categories which I narrowed or broadened as required (See Appendix xi, p.333). I was able to track the codes back to the teachers due to the colour formatting. I also sorted codes such as Linking to own parenting and Enjoying expert status which did not appear to fall into the significant, evolving categories, as dissimilar events also provided me with alternative insights (Charmaz, 2006).

I repeated this process. I modified, combined and discarded codes to fit new themes from other participants as I more interviews were carried out and as more data had become available. As the depth and thoughtfulness of the teachers' responses had

differed, this was reflected in the richness and complexity of the data. This resulted in some items such as *intuitively evaluating impact* being coded to more than one category namely Non-formal learning and Carrying out evaluation.

I then compared the themes across cases, within and between individual teachers and career groups, between what the teachers had said and what they had done, to tie the empirical data to the theoretical concepts proposed by the literatures.

The final step in data analysis was a systematic search through the data for representative concrete examples. This was carried out during memo writing by clicking on the codes, which acted as hypertext links back to the comments in the transcripts.

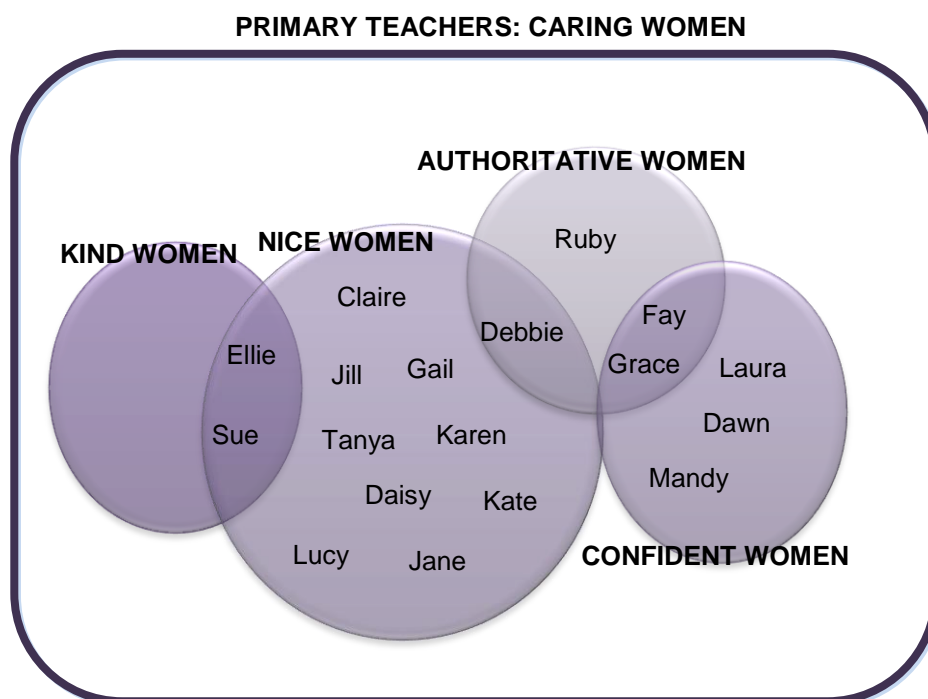
Memo writing took place throughout this process in order to advance my tentative explanations about the meaning of the data. Memo-writing also ensured my analysis did not stop with my initial impressions (Eisenhardt, 2002; Charmaz, 2006) (See Appendix xii, p.334). I later wrote further memos to link the interview data from the opinion shapers and the literatures to the theories constructed from the women Primary teachers' interviews. The overall aim of this part of the process was to explore how the women Primary Teachers had mediated and experienced professional learning policy.

Early in the analysis process, I constructed the codes Caring for children, Respecting children and Meeting children's needs. In order to stay close to the women's experiences (Charmaz, 2006), these codes were grounded both in their experiences and in the women's words, "I really, really care for the children". However, as interviewing progressed and I had examined the detail of my data analysis, I realised that all of the study participants' transcripts were coded at least once with caring. It seemed that the theme of caring was important for all of the study teachers. However, there were nuanced differences in the ways the women had explained how they attend to the needs of the children in their care. There were similarities and differences in the ways the women had performed their identity as Caring women.

In my fieldnotes I had noted the women descriptively as, 'Nice woman' or as 'Knowledgeable woman - knows her stuff'. I then tried to make theoretical sense of the codes Nice woman and Knowledgeable woman through memo writing. I focused analytical comparison firstly on the similarities and then on the differences in the Nice and the Knowledgeable women's performance of Caring. I then compared codes within the women and then more generally across the data, I realised that in categorising Caring women broadly that I had paid insufficient attention to multiple identities, as one woman had been coded as both Nice and Knowledgeable. I began to understand that coding the woman's performance discretely was neither possible nor desirable as the women's worlds, their habitus was a multi-layered experience (cf. Chapter 4, p.112).

For the interviews that followed, I then focused on building theory on performance of Caring woman (See Figure 11 Diagram representing attributed significant characteristics of Primary Teachers as caring women). I further developed the category of Nice woman. The Nice women had been polite and pleasant. They had come to the interviews with the intention of helping me. In contrast, the Authoritative women had come to the interviews with the intention of discussing teachers' learning. However, these categories were no longer discrete; they were permeable, interrelated and dependent on the others, as I had categorised the women through constant comparison of the characteristics they had revealed, within the small number of women that were interviewed. As members of another group, they could have been categorised differently and as identity is not fixed, even within the same group, at another time, and in an interpretation of other experiences, they could be categorised differently.

Figure 11 Diagram representing attributed significant characteristics of Primary Teachers as caring women



Some of these categories, therefore, have characteristics in common and so overlap while others, although seeming separate, are not positioned in isolation. The categories are relative to the others. This interconnectedness stresses the permeability of the categories. Furthermore, it must be noted that the diagram represents my attributed significant characteristic in this study. In order to take account of multiple identities, in an alternative analysis, Dawn's significant characteristic may have been in that context her authoritative approach. The structure I have constructed allows for such movement. Moreover, as Reay (1998) indicates, 'Any analysis is necessarily both tentative and provisional'. Therefore, this analysis and the theorising which follows are based on my interpretation of the women's performance as revealed at the time of the study.

All of the Nice women were CTs. Ellie and Sue's disposition had seemed, however, to be exceptionally generous and considerate and so they were further conceptualised as Kind women (cf. Chapter 6, p.180). The reasons reported for participation in this study generally resonated with a concern to help. Sue had explained in an email that, "I always try to help people if I can (This makes me sound like a Girl Guide!)". This

exemplified Sue not only as a Nice woman but also, like Ellie, as a Kind woman. Sue and Ellie's desire to help had seemed to extend beyond that demonstrated by most of the other women. Following her interview Ellie had emailed, to thank *me*. She had stressed how much she had enjoyed the opportunity to engage in professional dialogue about learning. However, also notable across the Nice and Kind women was that they seemed to have little structural power. They seldom had responsibilities beyond Classroom teaching. Somewhat anomalously, Sue had been pursuing ChT status. This had been in contrast to most of the other Nice and Kind women who had been more likely to indicate learning had been troublesome. However, although Sue had accumulated cultural capital of more theoretical importance, as we see later (cf. Chapter 6, p.189), was her unhappiness while at Primary School. So as the Nice and the Kind women seemed to accept their position as subordinate this position contrasted with that of the Authoritative women.

The Authoritative women had seemed to recognise the power of authority and mobilised their knowledge in order to gain authority/power. Initially, I had constructed the code of Knowledgeable woman, but discarded it in favour of Authoritative woman which I later expanded to Confident women and Authoritative women as the influence of learning had grown in conceptual significance. With the exception of Debbie, the Authoritative women had discussed their intelligence without mediating their claims and had expressed an aim to contribute to education beyond the classroom. They had seemed ambitious. They had seemed to have more robust identities than the Nice or the Kind women. They were more likely to be engaged in leading initiatives both within and beyond the confines of their schools. While somewhat similar in aspiration to the Authoritative women, the Confident women gained their power differently (cf. Chapter 6, p.177). However, this is not to imply that either the Confident women or the Authoritative women were uncaring, rather that they had not seemed to be restricted by traditional discourses of nurture or passive performances of doing girl/woman. As the Confident women had valued being well thought of among their colleagues, they had also placed importance on leading at a local level rather than within the wider education community. In discussion of their learning, they had somewhat mediated their claim to intelligence by also positioning their learning in discourses of friendship and collegiality. Yet

both the Confident and Authoritative women had positioned themselves as leaders rather than followers. They had all been active in distributed leadership activities (Harris, 2009). The teaching status of the Confident and Authoritative women had notably contrasted with that of the Nice and Kind women. The Confident and Authoritative women mainly had achieved the status of ChT while the Nice and Kind women were mainly CTs.

By constantly comparing aspects of the women's revealed identity, my conceptual understanding of the women had progressed. I had then been able to bring nuance to my understanding of the study women's performance by constructing four interconnected groups. However, representing abstract thinking in a diagram was problematic. It was not possible to recreate the mental image that I had used when I had constructed the categories. The image I had in mind had been three-dimensional. I had considered representing the categories as a continuum but rejected this, as the categories would have been disconnected from one another. The image I had constructed was one of spheres, which represent the worlds in which the women performed. The boundaries of the spheres were permeable. Furthermore, the spheres were not static but mobile, so the characteristics attributed to the categories were available to all of the women if they revealed that performance. The image I had created was fluid to represent agency. Therefore while Figure 11 is limited in this respect, it is also partial, incomplete. Other potential performances of woman Primary Teacher are not represented. Diagram 11 only presents the performances of woman that were revealed and constructed for this study. For example, women who teach but do not care about children are not represented nor are women whose ambition brings about self-focus rather than caring.

Data analysis was therefore a complex process with interviewing, transcription, analysis, reading and writing taking place as interconnected components of theory construction.

I had considered digital coding using Nvivo (QSR International, 2008), software designed to aid analysis of qualitative materials. However, following attendance at a one-day training event and after spending time using online tutorials, I did not consider the benefits significant. Purchasing the software would have involved a

significant cost and I could use the software I already had to carry out similar tasks. Furthermore, I was a skilful user of the software I already had. This seemed to outweigh being a novice user of an unfamiliar application, particularly as I would not have had access to notably new nor more powerful tools. Had this study been larger I can, however, see that using Nvivo may have been advantageous.

Having detailed the process of data construction and analysis, I now discuss the matter of researching ethically.

Trustworthy research

Kvale (1996, p.229) reminds us of the positivist origins of generalisation, reliability and validity and the high status they are afforded by ‘true believers in science’. Lincoln and Guba (1985), however, reject the relevance of these traditional terms instead reclaiming ordinary language to offer alternative concepts of trustworthiness, credibility, dependability and conformability, while Winter (2000) stresses the honesty, depth and the scope of the data. Robson (2002) concurs, advancing that new conceptualisations of reliability and validity more appropriate to qualitative research will ensure qualitative research cannot be dismissed. However, this is not a soft option and greatly relies on the quality of the researcher. With the aim of adding to this debate, I discuss my preferred conceptions of applicability, transparency and trustworthiness.

Applicability

As this study was not designed to enable systematic generalisability to wider populations (Kvale, 1996), I make no claims that the findings are generalisable in that way. Rather, its usefulness lies in developing an in-depth understanding of how a small group of women Primary Teachers were making sense of their learning in a specific real world context (Robson, 2002). I argue that in talking to teachers across the breadth of the teaching career, I was able to distinguish themes that appeared common among the women from those that appeared to be less common. Theory relating to the women Primary Teachers’ habitus at a specific time was then constructed based on the identified similarities and differences. The usefulness of this knowledge, therefore, as with studies which claim generalisability, rests with the reader to ‘bring to life’ (Davies, 2004b, p.173) my claims in relation to their own

setting (Cohen *et al.*, 2007); to determine the applicability of my findings in their context. As Bourdieu (1998, p.2) pointed out one must first ‘immerse oneself in the particularity of an empirical reality’ when aiming to build theory which may or may not have relevance for others. The applicability of any theory, I suggest, is therefore determined by the reader.

Transparency

Reliability testing becomes problematic in qualitative research due to the non-standardised nature of much the data (Robson, 2002). Robson (2002) therefore advises being careful and thorough in carrying out research and in order to demonstrate this, recommends the creation of an audit trail.

With this as a guiding principle, I have clearly and systematically recorded interview transcripts, field notes, memos and detailed the coding and theory construction process. In order to contribute to transparency and truthfulness, I have attached samples of documents as appendices. This, however, was not an attempt to demonstrate ‘the truth’ of my claims but to provide a detailed account of the research process so that my actions have been made clear and to provide a window to my thinking.

Trustworthiness

At the start of this study, it had seemed that my own embeddedness in the context of this research would be considered the greatest threat to trustworthiness, and could reasonably draw questions regarding the consistency of the findings. Fortunately, Cohen *et al.* (2007, p.134) draw attention to the need also to ‘locate discussions of validity within the research paradigm that is being used’.

Trustworthiness in the context of this study relates to the accounts drawn from the data (Maxwell, 2002) and the craftsmanship of the process (Kvale, 1996).

Importantly, Kvale (1996) draws attention to the ongoing nature of trustworthiness. Concern must take place throughout the research process beginning with logical links between theory and the research questions, ensuring that data construction is transparent and ends with reporting that can be seen to be fair by the reader, as the

later replication of the findings in an identical social world would not be feasible (Robson, 2002).

Due to the multi-layered nature of reality, I cannot guarantee my interpretation as ‘an objective, universal truth’ (Kvale, 1996, p.231). I have though provided detailed description of how the research process was carried out, and have detailed the interview, transcription and analysis process. I was alert to a researcher effect and so gathered data from varied sources. I have reported themes which fell outwith the advancing theories. I have aimed to report fairly one of arguably a number of valid perspectives. I therefore claim that I have presented a critical, fair, balanced and trustworthy interpretation of the complexity of a social situation (Robson, 2002) which readers can interpret in the context of their own understandings.

However, in common with much of the research process, making claims to applicability, transparency and trustworthiness obscures the struggle of achieving laudable aims when in the field. I therefore now draw attention to my ethical struggles.

Ethical concerns: researching with integrity

It would be comforting, albeit simplistic, to state that when engaging in research consideration of how to manage confidential information should take place during the design process. This would then ensure attention to the ethical integrity of the project before it was even underway. It would be easy to claim that guided by *The Moray House School of Education research ethics procedures* (University of Edinburgh, 2007), that from the earliest stage of research design, this study has complied with the *BERA Ethical Guidelines* (BERA, 2004), and as I have carried out these actions that this study should be considered ethical. Besides, making such a claim was not optional. The academy demands adherence to their code in order to control standards of enquiry, to ensure work meets the specified professional guidelines. Yet while guidance regarding the integrity of research and its purpose may have seemed plentiful, how to avoid activities that may be deemed unethical, what not to do, was clearer than guidance on how to behave (Macfarlane, 2009).

Along with critical consideration of the methods that I adopted for this study, I have also engaged in critical consideration of what it means to act ethically; morally and with integrity with the aim of taking responsibility for the justifications of my decisions within a certain culture at a specific time (Macfarlane, 2009). In doing so, I suggest this has not only progressed my understanding of the need to remain respectful of the individual women teachers but also of the culture of teaching. Furthermore, these actions have also acted to contribute to the trustworthiness of my findings.

However, despite equipping myself in the academy with understandings of how to treat participants, I found myself unprepared to take account of relationships. Negotiating ethically responsible behaviour ‘in the field’ was problematic and brought about the need during data collection and analysis, to re-examine more critically the meaning of informed consent.

Informed Consent

Treating people with respect lies at the heart of research ethics (BERA, 2004; Macfarlane, 2009) and so, as detailed earlier in this chapter (cf. p.133), I took steps to make the study known in the EA before beginning data construction. Publicising the study took place not only to access participants but also as a measure to ensure participants were aware of the nature and focus of the study, to try to ensure the teachers knew that the study was authentic.

The purpose and scope of the research was made known to each participant individually during the first face-to-face contact and then reiterated at varied points during the research. Securing voluntary informed consent should also take place before the research commences (BERA, 2004). All participants were therefore provided with a leaflet (See Appendix iv, p.326) prior to interviewing which outlined the purpose and scope of the study, explained what would happen to the data and confirmed the right to withdraw at any time, as an attempt to avoid deception.

Providing the leaflet prior to interviewing also provided space for the women to review the thinking behind the study without the pressure of my presence and as follow-up arrangements were made by email, provided the opportunity to withdraw

at a distance. For those who did participate, a consent form (See Appendix xiii, p.335) had to be signed before interviewing commenced. The form was an attempt to confirm that the participant had understood the purpose of the study and had agreed to participate without duress (BERA, 2004). However, the extent to which research participants understand the outcomes of the research process is moot.

The issue of confidentiality is a further key principle in conducting research (BERA, 2004; Elliot, 2005; Macfarlane, 2009).

So beginning from the point of transcription, I followed recognised practice in concealing the participants' identity by allocating the women with pseudonyms. However, although confidentiality was indicated, when using in-depth interviewing this can be problematic to guarantee (Elliot, 2005).

The background information I have provided regarding the authority was purposively brief: sufficient to provide context but insufficient to aid in participant identification. Equally, as the women could be recognised by close colleagues, my understanding of dissemination at the time of interviewing was discussed with all participants and copies of the transcripts were made available for comment and adjustment. The women were then able to edit any strongly made comments, if they felt that their comments could have revealed their identity.

Conversely, however, Mishler (1986) claims if individuals are provided a voice they feel has previously been denied, that issues of confidentiality may be less important. The opposite was the case in one instance in this study.

Although one participant had claimed that she, "didn't care" if she was named, in this study this position was problematic. Another woman had explained that she was only prepared to voice her thinking because she was confident I would protect her identity. Identifying one participant could then have led to the unwanted identification of others. I explained, to the unconcerned woman, that I had an obligation to meet the agreement I had with the other participants; we came to the agreement that she too would be allocated a pseudonym.

Yet while I consider it important to progress understanding of the social world, I do not consider social actors, people, as, “PhD fodder” (Munn and O'Brien, 2008). I had aimed to treat the women with respect. I had suggested the interviews took place in social settings such as cafés, as Class Teachers are seldom allowed to participate in professional activity beyond the confines of their school. While these meeting places undeniably created an atmosphere where the women spoke more freely, it was also an attempt to demonstrate that I valued the time they had given up in order to participate. Paying for their tea/coffee as a token of thanks (Muijs, 2004) was not an incentive for participation nor an attempt to create bias (BERA, 2004) but a way to express my respect for their contribution. As five teachers chose to be interviewed in their respective schools, in these cases, I had purchased a small packet of chocolates for each teacher.

Detailing my activities during data construction is part of my intention to make my actions transparent, to make clear the process that I had undertaken to bring about informed consent. However, during data interpretation and analysis, I realised that while most of the women had seemed happy with the transcript of their interview that some might have been less comfortable with the meanings that I had later given to what they had said, as these meanings would be made public along with their words.

Issues of power

The issue of power and control therefore was not only a focus of this study but was also an ethical concern. Although I was a woman interviewing women, as I had made the request to speak with women, their *acceptance* had bestowed me with a level of power. Furthermore, although I was interested in what the participants had to say, whether explicitly or subtly I had brought my interests to the interview. This too had arguably endowed a level of control. However, the lived experience of women Primary Teachers in Scotland was already influenced by power relations; engaging teachers in reflection of their experiences had enabled exploration of the normal, the commonsense, the unconsidered and the unexamined. I suggest, therefore, that this study does not contribute to the exploitation or subordination of women Primary Teachers. Alternatively, advancing understandings of teachers’

lives and professional practices has provided insights to where power is located and how it is used which may open the way for change in professional learning practices. Yet the use made of research material cannot always be foreseen by the researcher, had it been ethical to theorise issues that had influenced the everyday lived experiences of teachers in the absence of apparent benefits for the participants?

In creating early professional links with local opinion shapers I had been able to discuss early findings while still in the field which had potentially provided a voice for the teachers that may not normally have been heard (Wedgwood, 2007). However, rather than demonstrating openness to the perspectives of the teachers, at EA level it had seemed there was more concern to defend the authority position, to position the teachers' thinking as, "wrong" than to engage in courageous consideration of alternative perspectives. Representatives of the EA had adopted particularly defensive positions and had been unprepared to locate my findings at a societal rather than local level. I had persisted in making my findings known but like Wedgwood (2007), who had also tried to share findings from a doctoral study with local level policy makers, do not think that overall my thinking had been welcomed. The teachers themselves had been more receptive when I had gently discussed my interpretations. Some had seemed almost relieved that their experiences were shared, to find that others too had similar stories.

However, it is difficult to deny the self-interest of this study. I was after all aiming to increase my cultural capital by achieving a Doctoral award and it is among those who have an interest in knowledge generated by the academy that dissemination has been most favourably received. Perhaps this is unsurprising. It is more difficult after all, to engage in critical consideration of an issue when the issue may highlight one's own vulnerabilities. However, although my status as a doctoral student had provided the conditions for this study to take place, my desire to carry out the study had been pragmatic and had evolved from my roots as a teacher. Developing understanding of the day-to-day lived activity of women Primary Teachers' learning is important so that the women's revealed perspectives can be represented in the debate regarding the transformation of education in Scotland, in order that children can experience an improved education. Furthermore, developing deeper understandings of women as

teachers may also contribute to enhance the status of women as professionals. As a woman Primary Teacher, I had considered it a professional obligation to contribute to the education of both children and teachers in Scotland through a diversity of means. This has included reflecting on taken-for-granted positions even when I had to confront my own professional vulnerabilities or bring about thinking that was troublesome for others.

Reflexivity

In this study, the issue of reflexivity could not be overlooked. I, both in the short-term as a researcher in the field and due to my previous position as a woman Primary Teacher, had been immersed in the social world I had studied. I was indeed ‘in the world and of the world’ (Cohen *et al.*, 2007, p.171) which could be argued brought disadvantages which would not have been experienced by an outsider. My position could raise concerns regarding the trustworthiness and thus the legitimacy of the findings. However, Mills (1959 cited in Denzin, 2002, p.350) draws attention to the connectedness of the researcher and their subject, and suggests that researchers can self-consciously make use of their own life experiences as topics of enquiry in order to then examine ‘the major issues for publics and key troubles for private individuals in our time’.

As an insider, I brought lived experience and informed and critical understandings of the issues to the heart of this study. Like Schram (2006) I see value in my subjectivity as a means to generate critical questions about taken-for-granted assumptions, as a means to begin to make the familiar strange. However, making the familiar strange is an issue for any inexperienced researcher when trying to see beyond what ‘everyone knows’ about a social world (Greer, 1964 cited in Atkinson, Coffey and Delamont, 2003, p.26). Being open regarding my, albeit short, time away from teaching made it easier to open up a dialogue with the teachers, about taken-for-granted aspects of the present Primary Education culture in Scotland.

The women I spoke with were generous in their keenness to bring me up to date and to share alternative, revealed perspectives on familiar themes. Their acceptance and responsiveness provided space for me to ask questions which could have seemed a bit bizarre had I still been a practising colleague (Kean, 2007). Debating the

teaching culture in the remove of the academy had further aided the process of 'defamiliarization' (Atkinson *et al.*, 2003, p.27). Considering teachers' learning from varied Social Science disciplines including philosophy, sociology and psychology had also provided me with alternative insights into the life of a teacher.

I have been careful therefore to examine the pre-suppositions I had at the start of the study. This took account of those made in relation to my own position as a teacher who had to undertake contractual professional learning and then as a researcher with an interest in the outcome of this study.

Summary

Designing research within qualitative traditions allowed the interconnected processes of data construction, analysis and theorising to take place iteratively (Schram, 2006). However, although qualitative enquiry is often claimed to be 'fundamentally interpretative' (Schram, 2006, p.11), in order that such a claim can be made, adopting methods for data collection and analysis which support an interpretative stance can be crucial in achieving a study's aims.

In this study, grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2006) was the approach adopted for data analysis and allowed the tools I preferred for data construction to be used.

However, this study has deviated in a number of ways from classical grounded theory. Theory construction in grounded theory eschews the use of a theoretical framework, yet I adopted one. However, as the use of grounded theory allowed construction of theory based in social situations, I considered it not to be problematic to locate specific social actions within wider sociological understandings. The teachers' actions and beliefs are social constructions that have relationships with the wider social world. Adopting a theoretical guide during data construction and analysis has added depth to my theoretical conceptualisation by drawing on wider sociological propositions. So while it may seem that I have borrowed pieces rather than 'claiming the whole' (Schram, 2006), I have been attentive to the assumptions underpinning grounded theory and to my own understandings, to areas of convergence and divergence. My consideration of methods of enquiry and fieldwork

tools was driven by questioning ‘are these the right tools for the job?’ I argue my adapted use of grounded theory has allowed me to answer ‘yes’.

Similarly, ethical considerations were driven by the same question. In common with teaching, carrying out qualitative research required courageous consideration and challenging of current practices. Looking to the natural sciences solely as a means to guide ethical decisions can bring about ethical procedures which are a poor fit with the nature of many qualitative studies (Macfarlane, 2009). Researching with integrity has therefore demanded consideration of alternative measures of quality in qualitative research.

Having discussed in detail the methods and tools that I adopted in order to carry out this study, I move now to discuss the findings. In the next chapter, I introduce the main participants, the women Primary Teachers. I offer the theoretical constructs of Nice, Kind, Confident and Authoritative women as theoretical tools to understand the women’s experiences and understandings of learning. As mentioned earlier in this chapter (cf. p.138), the women spoke surprisingly freely at the start of the interview. As I discuss next, even more surprising was that when the Nice women spoke freely that they spoke not of uncomplicated relationships with learning but alternatively of struggles.

Chapter 6

The struggle of learning: women's early learning experiences

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I introduced my methodological stance and the methods adopted for data construction and analysis. I explained how theory construction took place by repeatedly asking, "What is going on here?" during analysis and focused data collection (Charmaz, 2006).

By continually questioning and problematising aspects of the women's accounts of their lived experiences of learning, being a learner as a girl/woman and the uncertainties during schooling were constructed as significant themes in this study. These themes are important in understanding some of the influences experienced by the women and also in understanding their attitudes and dispositions (Bourdieu, 1990; Walkerdine, 1990) as their dispositions have shaped their performances as Caring Teachers. Early schooling seemed to have had a long lasting influence and continued to play a part in shaping the women Primary Teachers' experiences as learners in their work contexts. Therefore in this chapter, I examine some of the women's early struggles with learning. I suggest that although professional learning as a teacher is subject to influence from the field of policy, that habitus too plays a part in how learning is experienced and understood (Bourdieu, 1990).

Due to the difficulty in understanding the complexity of identity within one conceptual guide, and in order to understand more fully the place of agency on the women's identity, I drew upon gender theory (cf. Chapter 4, p.101) and Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of habitus, field and capital as tools for thinking (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2006) (cf. Chapter 4, p.110).

Primary Teachers: a homogenous or heterogeneous group

Although teachers' needs are acknowledged as being different at the early career stage, thus indicating an awareness that teachers are unlikely to be a homogenous

group (Kennedy and Clinton, 2009), difference is often constructed broadly in relation to professional development needs (cf. Chapter 3, p.74). Often absent from analysis is consideration of the humanistic aspect, to variation in who teachers are or indeed of their previous experiences of learning. So while recognition is given to variations in teachers' needs at specific career points, such as induction (Draper and O'Brien, 2006; McNally *et al.*, 2008), Chartered Teacher (Williamson and Robinson, 2009; Reeves, 2009) and Headship (O'Brien *et al.*, 2008), less attention is given to mediating influences such as performance of gender.

Referring to Connell's (1985 cited in Draper and O'Brien, 2006, p.21) claim that:

for a long time [teachers] were seen as mere vehicles, neutral agents of social control and transmission [so] the interpersonal and individual dimension of the very human work of teaching,

Draper and O'Brien's (2006) concur that the human dimension of teacher's work is too often ignored. Draper and O'Brien (2006) argue that teachers' needs as employees are relatively invisible and that their views and understandings are often overlooked in the development and implementation of policy. Like Draper and O'Brien (2006), I too argue there is a need to further understand constructions of the teacher in order to further understand teacher learning.

Through this study, I aimed to add to the body of knowledge, which focuses on Class Teachers' learning, by viewing teacher learning through a feminist lens. I aimed specifically to build understanding of how gendering/gendered beliefs had influenced the working lives and professional identities of some women Primary teachers. Yet although focused on women, I intended to move beyond a simplistic, binary notion of teachers as men or women and discuss only selected constructions of women thus acknowledging that, while there is no generalisable, monolithic construct of 'teacher', 'woman' or 'man' equally there is no monolithic notion of 'woman teacher'. That said, recognising the lived experience as a multiplicity of contradictory and conflicting constructs can make it difficult to bring depth to understanding in any context. Constructing an argument around only some of the

women's experiences and practices allowed a more nuanced understanding of the production of part of their professional identity to be constructed.

Setting aside class and race

As a consequence of my focus on gender on the women's experiences of being teachers across the age range of 21-55, I excluded other differences. Notably I did not enter into discourses of race or class. However, as I was concerned to understand discourses of what it was to be a thinking woman teacher, an intellectual professional within the Scottish context, noting the geographical location of the women's educational experiences was important.

Although specific ethnicity and identity information was not gathered, the women's narratives revealed that most had been brought up and educated in Scotland. A few had been educated in England. One had attended Primary and Secondary School in Northern Ireland. With the exception of the teacher from Northern Ireland, the women throughout their lives had what may be described as strong connections to Scotland. Most commonly, this had been through their parents. Some of the women had not lived in Scotland during the early part of their life. For those who had been educated in England, this was because of their parents' work and had resulted in schooling in both Scotland and England. All the women, with the exception of the teacher from Northern Ireland, had undertaken their teaching qualification in Scotland.

I did not gather information regarding class. Some of the women had mentioned of their parents' occupations, which I could have used as a limited measure to derive class, I did not undertake such an analysis. It was not considered an important focus in relation to the significant themes (cf. Chapter 5, p.135). In short, therefore, I excluded rather than ignored or marginalised issues of race and class. This does not mean that I overlooked the complexity of the women's experiences. Rather, that the stories the women told limited the scope of the study. Gender had theoretical relevance and was therefore constructed as more significant than class or race.

It is important to draw attention to the following discussion of the women in a chapter reporting findings. Although I have already referred to the women in

Chapter 5 (cf., p.130 and p. 149), that was in relation to their role as teachers.

However, locating the teachers as women was important in relation to my analysis of gender.

For some of the women in this study developing identities as women, as learners and as teachers seemed to be characterised by struggle. Notably, these sites of struggle had, at times led to compliance. I now present quotations from the participants to demonstrate the links between their construction of their experiences and my theorising. Presenting theory in this manner can be argued as cherry picking; ensuring that points are made rather than providing trustworthy evidence (cf. Chapter 5, p.152). While I appreciate this concern, I stress that the quotations eloquently illuminated points and so I have used one speaker's words to represent the thinking of a number of the teachers. More importantly, it is an attempt to preserve the presence of the participants throughout the research process. I suggest this is more suitable than reporting only summarised information that can disembodify research participants and render them invisible.

Introducing the women

The interrelatedness of professional identity and personal habitus are important in understanding why cultural and societal constructions of a teacher can sit in tension with policy constructions. It is important therefore to introduce the women from a more humanistic perspective. As space is limited, the descriptions are necessarily brief. I stress again, therefore, the notion of multiple identities. The descriptions and quotations that follow are attempts to neither essentialise nor dichotomise the women's identities, to categorise one as effective teacher against another as caring teacher. Rather, I aimed to provide a brief insight into some of the women's revealed constructions of being a teacher, to draw attention to dominant discourses while acknowledging that subordinate discourses were also at play. I begin then with Daisy one of the study's' newest entrants to teaching and conclude with Laura, the longest serving teacher.

At the time of the study, Daisy was a Probationer. She went straight from school to University. She graduated with a Degree in Humanities and then studied for a PGDE. She was softly spoken and made frequent mention of how much she loved

teaching and enjoyed the company of children, “I like working with children, I volunteered for Barnardo’s²¹ when I was doing my first degree and loved it.” She spoke with similar affection of the children in her first class. She often related her own experiences of learning to her professional understanding. She began the interview by declaring, “I am a kinesthetic learner. I learnt that at University.”

Jill too was a Probationer at the time of the study. She graduated with a Degree in Social Sciences then had worked and studied intermittently before finally embarking on a PGDE. She described the PGDE as the only learning she had really been committed to as, “It wasn’t just studying for studying’s sake. It was a career; it was what I wanted to do.” Her dissatisfaction with an office job had been confirmed by time spent volunteering for a homework club as:

It was quite a nice feeling and you’re helping them [children²²] out and it’s really quite rewarding. It’s [teaching] a rewarding job you know. I’ve done other jobs where I go in 9 to 5 and I get paid and that’s it, but I do quite like how involved teaching is.

Karen was a late entrant to teaching. She attended University straight from school and following graduation had joined a high-status profession. Following a successful full-time career, she had decided she wanted to fulfill her ambition to become a teacher. Karen had then embarked on a PGDE. She had enjoyed her first year post and declared, “I feel like a real teacher now!” At the time of the study, Karen did not intend to seek promotion within teaching but to enjoy, and focus on her commitment to, classroom teaching as, “I just really like being in the class, with the kids.”

Grace had gone straight into ITE from school. She had been teaching full-time since the award of her BEd. Grace seemed enthusiastic, bubbly and very committed to teaching. She had assisted a Literacy Course Leader to deliver teacher learning. She had shared her experiences of using the method for story writing with the course delegates. Grace was keen to be involved in Induction activities for new Probationers. She seemed to make frequent connections between theory and her

²¹ Barnardo’s is one of the UK’s leading children’s charities.

²² I adopt the same approach to bring clarity to participants’ words as I do to quotations from texts. There are times therefore when in order to clarify the speakers’ meaning or to bring sense to the quotation in this text, I make insertions. Inserted text is marked thus [].

practice. Reflecting on her approach to further progressing her understanding of Literacy she had explained, “I actually spent time thinking ‘Hang on a minute, I think I really need to go back and actually look at my old University stuff!’”

Kate had also progressed from school to University. She had studied for a Humanities Degree then followed up with a PGCE. Kate, however, delayed starting her teaching career as she had married during her studies and decided to stay at home to look after her children. During that time, she undertook voluntary work. She had been teaching full-time since 2001 and seemed committed and very satisfied by her work. At the time of the study, Kate no longer had her own class but covered non-contact time for Probationers. She was enjoying the diversity and experiences that the opportunity had brought to her teaching. In order to develop her understanding of barriers in children's learning, Kate's professional learning focused on, “to be honest anything that helps them [the children] to learn”. Kate seemed committed to improving children's life chances.

Claire too was a late entrant to teaching. She had been encouraged to join the profession by the teacher she assisted as a parent helper. At that time, she had no formal qualifications, so she had studied as a mature student for Standards Grades²³ then a National Vocation Qualification (NVQ)²⁴ before being admitted to an Access Programme²⁵. Successful completion of the Access Programme had enabled Claire to enroll on a BEd programme. Since graduation from the BEd, Claire had been working full-time as a teacher. She ended the interview by sharing her delight that despite her initial reservations about talking about professional learning that, “Well you know I'm amazed actually, I didn't know if I'd be able to answer your questions, I didn't know I had so many views!”

²³ Standard grades are the ordinary level qualifications commonly taken by students in Scotland. The examinations are taken at the end of a two-year period of study in the third and fourth years of Secondary Education, around the age of 15-16 years.

²⁴ NVQs are work-based qualifications.

²⁵ The Access Programme is a programme designed to support students from alternative routes to access Higher Education Scottish Wider Access Programme (SWAP), 2011. *Scottish Wider Access Programme: about SWAP*. Available at: <<http://www.scottishwideraccess.org/index.php?section.id=152>> [Accessed 10 Mar].

Fay, like Karen, had joined teaching following a career in another profession. Fay's previous professional experiences had involved a high level of contact with children. As a result of her accumulated experiences, Fay had thought she could make more of a difference as a teacher and so had embarked on a PGCE. Her ideology seemed to be underpinned by a concern with social justice and ensuring all children access quality education. Fay had also been keen to support other teachers in their learning. She did so both informally:

people would come in and they'd say 'Oh Fay can I just have a word about [gives an example]' ²⁶ and they just wanted to check things out. So that [supporting teacher learning] definitely does happen but it was in a very casual way, it wasn't in an organised way

and formally in her role as a Network Leader.

At the time of the study, Debbie was studying for a Master of Professional Enquiry in order to achieve Chartered Teacher status. However, she had considered a career path into management. Although Debbie had always planned to be a teacher, she had not achieved the required Higher²⁷ grades and so had attended a Further Education College in order to gain a Nursery Nurse qualification. This qualification had provided an alternative route into study at University. Debbie had been working full-time as a teacher since her graduation from her BEd course. Debbie seemed bubbly and enthusiastic throughout the interview. She enthused about her commitment to transformative education and referred to reflection as a means to examine pedagogy and bring about change. She seemed uncertain though about her career path, "I don't mind being a leader, but I don't want to be a manager", yet had explained that she was thinking about applying for a Principal Teacher (SEED, 2001) post. Categorising Debbie was difficult. She seemed torn between maintaining a loyalty to 'grass roots' Class Teaching and having to give up on this loyalty if she followed her aspiration to lead.

²⁶ At times, I omit information which could compromise the participants' anonymity. Text treated in this way is marked thus [].

²⁷ Highers are the higher-level qualifications commonly taken by students in Scotland at the end of a one-year period of study in the fifth or sixth year of Secondary Education.

Ellie had been awarded a Bachelor of Education Degree. She taught full time for approximately 10 years and then took a career break. She had been working on a Part-time Supply basis since returning to teaching. As a supply teacher, Ellie had been finding it difficult to meet her contractual commitment to CPD, as due to the nature of her work pattern she was unable to attend twilight sessions. However, determined to stay abreast of current initiatives, Ellie gave over many hours to professional reading at home:

My knowledge of history is pretty dismal to be honest and I have to teach Mary Queen of Scots ... but I want to stand in front of the class quite confidently to tell them about it and bring it alive and I can't do that until I have done more at my own level of understanding. So I have to put in the time. I have bought a good book and it is all about different periods of her life and that period ... I easily lose a few hours just reading a couple of chapters of the book each night you know.

While on her career break she had, "... ended up doing a course [in sign language]. Just something I could do outside the home that would help me later." Ellie had hoped the sign language course would equip her to follow a career path into Deaf Education.

Although a late entrant to teaching, Ruby had been teaching for 15 years. Following her previous successful career, Ruby had decided she wanted a change and as she had always been interested in education, decided to become a teacher. At the time of the study, Ruby had been a ChT for three years and was keen to develop the role of ChT. She thought that because of the lack of clarity surrounding the role of the ChT that the status was poorly recognised within the authority and by HMIE, "I was disappointed there was not one reference to any of the Chartered Teachers in the [HMIE school inspection] report." Ruby seemed to believe strongly that ChTs could have a place to play in supporting colleagues' learning, so part of her role she felt was, "you know giving them [Class Teachers] advice, you know about their role in supporting children".

Lucy went to University from school, and was later awarded a BEd. She was softly spoken and seemed to find herself in inner conflict with her ideology of teaching as a

commitment that extended beyond contractual obligation, and with the managerial construction of teacher which dominated policy:

In your head you are thinking I've got these [CPD] hours to do and how can I make sure that I do them, knowing full well that you put the hours in regardless, but it just makes you tease it all out, having to record everything like that.

Lucy had toyed with the idea of a career change, however, her commitment to teaching endured as ultimately:

I cannot honestly think of any other job that I would want to do, I just really like working with children and I find it really rewarding. I find it a very rewarding job. You are never ever thinking 'Oh time is going so slowly', it is usually the opposite I think!

After leaving school, Gail had attended University, where she was awarded a BEd. It seemed that Gail's commitment to teaching meant she spent her time 'doing' teaching. The chance, however, to engage in a conversation about education had provided her with a rare opportunity to reflect on her understandings of current issues, which she did thoughtfully, and with some delight despite an early claim that, "I don't know about this [taking part in the interview]. I am quite airy fairy!"

Jane had been teaching for many years following the award of a DipPrimEd. She was later also awarded a Certificate in Early Years. Although Jane was committed to learning through play, she was skeptical of some aspects of Curriculum for Excellence. She seemed to accept that she should adopt the present ideology, however, during discussion of the new policy, she had not been able to mask her uncertainty, "It doesn't make sense really, does it?"

Dawn had not long achieved ChT Status through the accreditation route. She considered the status in part acknowledged her commitment to teaching and to children, "I've got great respect for the children. I really, really care for the children." Dawn, however, had experienced tension around her new status. Although prepared to take a lead role in working parties and supporting colleagues' learning, such roles had been offered to less experienced staff as a means of career development. While Dawn agreed with the notion of career development, she also

thought that inexperienced leaders could hinder improvement. She had found it frustrating that her experienced voice had less value than an enthusiastic voice:

I go to the groups and I put my pennies worth and that in, you know. But I don't think they always have an idea of the role, of the support and leadership. ... Like the action research, I said [to the HT] 'I've spent the last four years studying how to do this'. I said 'Yet they can't'. So I said, 'If you won't let me, you'll have to go in and show them what to do if that's [a report] what you want back'.

Mandy's determination to succeed in learning meant she had undertaken study for a number of accredited awards during her career as a teacher. Reflecting her desire to challenge herself, not all of her awards were directly related to teaching and one substantial period of University accredited learning had been undertaken during a maternity leave. Mandy's career had varied over time. She had previously held management posts but decided she preferred to teach as, "that is where the real enjoyment is", and so resigned from her management post. Mandy had been among the first teachers to embark on the ChT programme. Mandy was committed to constantly improving her practice. She was also involved in contributing to other teachers' learning through CPD opportunities.

Tanya had been teaching for 26 years. She had taken career breaks. At the time of the study, she was working part-time in a Nursery Class attached to a Primary School. Tanya seemed to enjoy the high level of collaboration that characterised her work in Nursery Education:

We'd [Tanya and the Nursery Nurses] read Child at the centre²⁸ weekly. What we would do, we would read a bit of it, then talk to each other about it when we were doing our planning.

Like the many of the study women, Tanya had been hesitant to lay claim to her professional strengths, "You know, when I looked at the thing you sent me, I thought 'God I don't really do any of that' but now that I'm speaking I realise I do."

At the time of the study, Sue was in the later stages of completing an online programme which would lead to the award of a Master of Education in Advanced

²⁸ Child at the centre is the HMIe self-evaluation and improvement tool for early years contexts.

Professional Studies so that she could apply for ChT Status. In order to attend to the needs of her own children, Sue had taken career breaks but had returned to full-time teaching when she had felt that her own children, “didn’t need a full-time Mum anymore”. Sue had entered teaching with a DipPrimEd but in order to remain abreast of thinking, had also completed a BEd with the Open University, “I thought ... I’ve got a diploma and I thought I need to get a degree because these people coming up behind me have degrees.” Despite her commitment to enhance her theoretical understanding, Sue intended to remain in the classroom teaching, “to be honest, I am happiest in a class with some children and something to do, something to learn”.

Laura had achieved ChT Status a few years before this study took place, and so had responsibility for mentoring the Probationers in her school. Due to a concern that they were not being mentored by a member of the management team, Laura had been surprised when she had realised that the Probationers had little knowledge nor understanding of her status as an accomplished teacher. Laura’s confidence, however, had suffered only a brief knock, “I was a bit worried at first (laughed) but then I realised it wasn’t personal!”

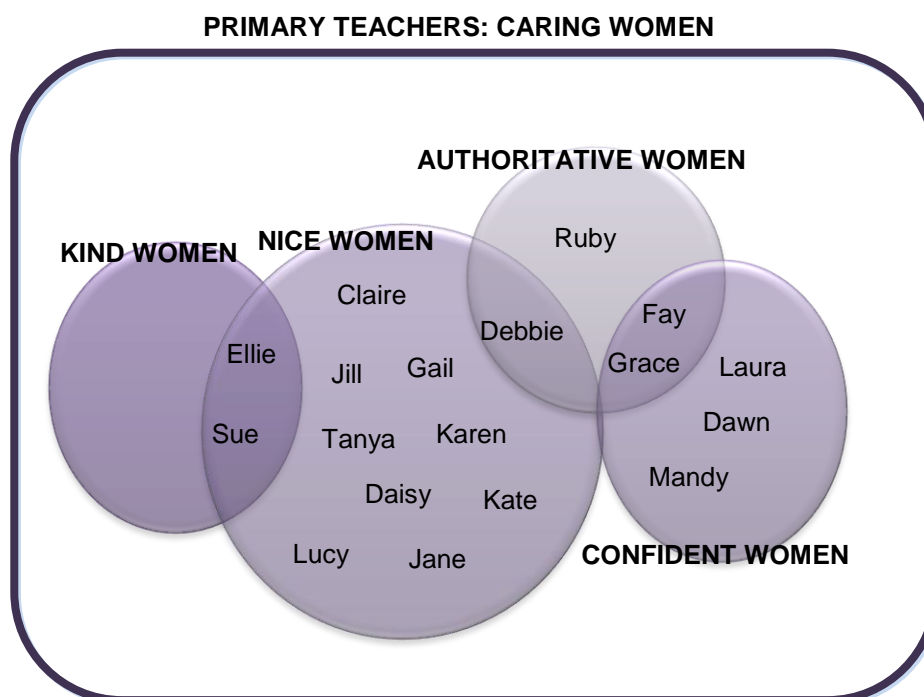
From talking to these women, it seemed to me that, although there were many differences, that there were also many similarities. The women had all seemed warm and caring, not only in relation to children but also in the care and concern that they had extended to me. I reflected on this at length, “What was going on here?” I had questioned, “Was this of importance or did their behaviour fit typically with other research participants? Was it simply part of the game of research and as a novice, an outsider, it was I who did not understand the research game?” Yet I had carried out a small-scale study previously, I pondered, “Had the other teachers also responded in this manner?” It had seemed not. Following further analysis, I came to recognise the theoretical significance of the women’s warmth and caring.

Caring teachers

All of the women interviewed had cared about the children they taught (cf. Figure 11 Diagram representing attributed significant characteristics of Primary Teachers as caring women). However, caring has varied manifestations and ideologies

(Noddings, 2003). In the case of the teachers in this study, the emotional state of caring, caring about rather than the activity of caring (Noddings, 2003) was important. Although Primary Teachers are involved in caring for, at times looking after children, it was not this aspect of caring that had been notable.

Figure 11 Diagram representing attributed significant characteristics of Primary Teachers as caring women



Caring about can be located in Noddings' (2003) ethics of care focused on caring as a psychological, moral attitude rather than the activity of care giving. Noddings (2003) describes caring as a reciprocal relationship where being cared for is as important to the recipient as it is to the carer. Interestingly, however, Noddings (2003) draws attention to her work as negatively critiqued by some feminists who suggest that focusing on the needs of the cared for positions women in a traditional caring role, giving but receiving little in return. Noddings (2005) though acknowledges the fear of exploitation, that when women are constantly positioned as carer it can be a concern, but not one which should bring about the abandonment of caring itself. However, roles are constructed not only by those acting within the roles but by others involved in role construction (Cribb, 2009). Bubeck (1995) stresses the social and relational argument but argues that caring is not gender

specific. It would be neither possible nor desirable to restrict or stop caring between friends and partners, thus highlighting that caring is not restricted by gender. Yet while the experience of the recipients of care must be considered alongside the experiences of the provider (Noddings, 2003; Held, 2006) and while caring may not be restricted to women, it seemed that acting with an ethic of care which 'is concerned with conditions of vulnerability and inequality' (Tronto, 1995 cited in Goodman, 2008, p.235), as we see later in Chapter 8 (p.226), left some women teachers vulnerable to policy demands.

So although important, the activity of caring has little status in western society (Tronto, 1993). Even in medicine, nursing with its traditional roots in caring for patients is constructed as of lower status than doctoring. Caring and the emotional, relational domain are connected and constructed as feminine thus positioned as Other, as worth less. However, Tronto (1989, p.172) focuses on the attention that must be given to critically analysing the worth of any virtue, that caring cannot be constructed as virtuous, as 'fine because women do it'. Although Held (2006, p.44) reminds us most would consider it 'admirable to be caring'.

In a bid not to present all women Primary Teachers as a homogenous group, I gave more thought to the ways the teachers had performed caring (cf. Chapter 5, p.147). I analysed the ways they spoke about their personal experiences and their professional work as teachers. I also remembered that when I was a teacher, I found some caring teachers frustrating to work with.

While teaching I had not been able to understand why some women found it so difficult to offer any resistance to structural demands; on the one hand, they would claim they felt overworked or had little professional confidence in pedagogical or curricular demands, but on the other hand, they had powerlessly and tirelessly implemented the demands. However, I found myself humbled as I began to construct an understanding of how deeply committed some women teachers can be and how their commitment constrained their agency and required them to submit, to comply with the demands of the system.

Although caring was constructed as part of all of the study teachers' professional identity as teachers, for the Nice women this aspect of their identity perpetuated the socially constructed position of women in society as nurturers engaged in the craft of teaching. However, due to their compliant stance, it seemed that the Nice women would not be able to bring about the improvements that they envisaged in the lives of children. Yet such restricted performance of being a teacher was not experienced by the Confident or Authoritative women. While undoubtedly caring, rather than adopting a subservient performance as a teacher concerned to meet the demands of children and parents through the implementation of prescribed policy, the Confident and Authoritative women had claimed to enact a more powerful caring which they thought was more likely to disrupt power relationships and counter inequality through education. Ruby had explained, if teachers want to bring about real change they need to, "... share knowledge, be knowledgeable and keep up to date with changes in education". The thinking of the Confident and the Authoritative women contrasted with the thinking of the Nice and Kind women, the selfless carers (Bubeck, 1995), and offers an insight into why some women Primary Teachers without question conform with the discourse of the Professional Standards discourse and managerial professionalism. In contrast, Jane's acceptance that she had little power had been clear when pressed for her opinion of her school management's approach to teacher learning as she had responded, "It's not for me to question." As selfless carers, the Nice women had seemed obediently to adopt practices that required them to put aside their own needs in order to meet the needs of others.

So although the Confident, the Authoritative, the Nice and the Kind women all cared, their dispositions and so performances of care had differed. Two of the identities relied on a limiting notion of care, while the other two had claimed a more powerful performance of caring more likely it seemed to influence learners in the ways imagined by the teachers. Interestingly, the women's own gendered early learning experiences offered some insight into how these varied dispositions had been shaped (Bourdieu, 1990).

Professional identity: personal habitus

When I had listened to the women talk, I had realised that their lived experience of schooling long before they were teachers was significant in their construction of their identity as teachers and of their understandings of themselves as learners. In part, these women had gained their identity as learners through interactions with, and through the expectations of, previous teachers (Walters, 2004). As Paterson (2000) asserts education systems shape personal identity. Schools and pupils themselves are complicit in the production of gendered experiences of learning (Davies, 1989; Francis, 1998). The women's performances seemed to fit with Bourdieu's (1998) theorising that even though the women had experienced variations in their experiences of rules and values that these learned dispositions had influenced their personal habitus. Their earlier experiences had become internalised and so guided their actions and behaviours. Even though the women were free to act as they chose, they were predisposed to act in certain ways. Their habitus made it difficult for them to think or act outwith their conceptualisation of the social world. Indeed, for the Nice women even have to consider thinking about the unthinkable would have been troubling.

In contrast to some of the thinking of Bourdieu (1990), others assert more forcefully that identity is not fixed that it is produced, negotiated, open, shifting, ambiguous and related to cultural contexts (Kondo, 1990 cited in Sachs, 2001, p.154) so 'gender can be learned, defined, renegotiated, and contested' (Smulyan, 2006, p.470). Smulyan (2006) suggests that gendered constructions have the potential for critical change. However, Bourdieu does not claim habitus presents a final or finished identity, rather, that habitus is always in the process of completion (Reay, 1997) even though it is durable across time (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990).

So while the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001) arguably aims to change teacher culture to 'promote professionalism' (p.5) and 'address ... professional autonomy' (p.2) many of the study teachers' stories of professional learning were replete with traditional notions of the culturally acceptable role of the nurturing, caring teacher and the discourse of policy compliance. This had caused me to puzzle why did the conformist discourse continue to exert more power than that of the transformative?

In what other ways were there differences in how the Authoritative, the Confident, the Kind and the Nice women performed as teachers, professionals?

With these questions in mind, I now discuss the groups of Confident and Nice women in some depth. As the groups Kind and Authoritative are close in nature to Nice and Confident respectively, my discussion of these groups is briefer and integrated with the discussion of Confident and Nice.

Constructing the women: confident and authoritative

As discussed in Chapter 5 (p. 148), in my fieldnotes I had described these women as, Dawn - *confident*, Laura - *assured*, and Mandy - *really knows her stuff*. These women had seemed more certain of themselves than the Nice women. These women had mentioned fewer tensions during schooling and, like Ruby who changed career to become involved in education, had more often cited an explicit concern with social justice as a reason for becoming a teacher.

In contrast to the struggles of many of the Nice women, the Confident women had spoken with self-assurance of exam success and the choice available to them as bearers of seemingly easily accumulated cultural capital. Like the Authoritative women, they had not hidden, mediated nor deflected their performance as intelligent women (Francis and Skelton, 2009). In contrast to the girls in Francis and Skelton's study (2009) (cf. Chapter 4, p.103) these women produced themselves as assertive and knowledgeable, equipped and willing to reason, to engage in considered professional discussion. These women had even approached the interviews with a different mind-set. While the Kind women had wanted to help, the Confident women came to discuss professional learning.

Dawn had spoken at length about her understandings of being a professional. She had explained that she lived near her place of work. This created tension in her personal/public lives as she was constantly among parents and children who knew her as a teacher so she had, "to be aware of the way I speak, the way I carry myself". Interestingly, like Dawn, the Confident and Authoritative women had seemed to 'hold' themselves differently. They had created a presence that was less evident among the Nice women.

On the one hand, the construction of Confident and Authoritative women fits snugly with the construct of an autonomous professional (cf. Chapter 3, p.50). However, the women had not entirely invested in a masculine performance of the individual, rational thinker. Like the girls in Francis and Skelton's study (2009) the Confident women had also placed importance on collegiality, on working alongside colleagues to bring about change. Mandy's commitment to a collegial approach had been central in bringing about significant pedagogical change in the infant department in her school and was evident in her use of *we* throughout much of her discussion:

Kiera [her stage partner] was doing a course with another colleague a (inaudible) project with Glasgow University. It was provision from Nursery to P1, so one of them was in the Nursery and one was in P1, but again there were a lot of things that were coming out from that course that was giving us opportunities to think and talk more about. What we should be doing, and again networking. ... the approaches that had been used on the course, so it kind of started us talking and then we decided to start. Almost doing it a kind of informal action enquiry in our classroom, kind of dabbling with ideas we were looking at, how we could make our [Environmental Studies] more cross-curricular and more active, what activities we were providing for the children. We were looking at how we planned it was just constantly talking really and you get eventually, well I just feel it just evolved and the model that we used works best in this situation. It has evolved through lots of talk, lots of trial and error and I think we had a real belief in what we wanted. We knew what we wanted to achieve and I think going away and researching it, and going away talking to other people, visiting other places you know that confirmed as well what we didn't want!

Of note then is the teaching status of the Confident women. Laura, Mandy and Dawn were all ChTs. Fay had been about to embark on the programme. The Authoritative women also shared this characteristic. Debbie was on the ChT programme, Ruby was a ChT and it seemed likely from Grace's aspirations that she too would either embark on the programme when she reached the top of the pay scale (Kirk *et al.*, 2003) or pursue a management pathway (SEED, 2001).

The Confident women had been able to mobilise their existing skills and knowledge to accumulate further embodied and institutionalised cultural capital. However, it is often implied that the ChT programme stimulates confidence in teachers (Williamson and Robinson, 2009; Reeves, 2009). Yet, and this claim is extremely tentative as it is admittedly based on a very small number of teacher, some of the women who had

participated in the ChT programme already had a confidence brought about by earlier successes in learning. A disposition that academic study at Masters Level was achievable may have encouraged these already academically successful women to consider ChT status as ‘for the likes of us’ while for others their domination, their disposition, had made it unthinkable (Bourdieu, 1990, p.56).

In beginning with discussion of Confident and Authoritative women, it may seem that these women will be the focus of the following chapters. Indeed an academic interest in ChT could be understandable as the status was only introduced post the McCrone Agreement, so making the study of ChTs a relevant, topical research focus. However, ChTs themselves have been keen to protect their interests and have formed a professional association for ChTs (Association of Chartered Teachers Scotland [ACTS], 2011). The inward looking aims of the association implies that ChTs are keen that their enhanced status will be maintained. The association calls for ‘the provision of appropriate level of CPD opportunities for *Chartered Teachers*’ (ACTS, 2011, my emphasis). Yet surely, this should be an aim for all teachers. This call had prompted me to ponder on the positioning of ChTs as dominant, as a group who seemed to construct themselves as more than Class Teachers by merit of an academic qualification gained through self-selection. Therefore as one of my intentions in this study was to make the mass visible (cf. this chapter, p.163), I focused intentionally on CTs. ChTs proportionally to CTs are in the minority, yet like the missing men in education, their interests can be over represented. As indicated earlier (cf. Chapter 3, p.78) there are a number of studies concerned with ChTs, so with this in mind the focus of this study lies with understanding a group of teachers who had no enhanced status as they had remained as CTs.

The theorising and discussion which follows focuses on the experiences of the Nice women, and attempts to offer some understanding of why so often their shared assumptive world seemed to tell them they were inadequate, that so much was ‘not for the likes of us’ (Bourdieu, 1990, p.56). However, the Nice and the Kind women did not inhabit their social world in isolation. I draw therefore on the Confident and the Authoritative women to illustrate the relational nature of differing or converging

experiences. Equally, the Confident women could exist without reference to their Other (Francis and Skelton, 2009), in this case the Nice women.

Constructing the women: Nice and Kind

In contrast to the academic success of the Confident and Authoritative women, the Nice Women had experienced learning as a site of struggle long before they became teachers. I argue that their individual past experiences have shaped their perceptions and performance of learning into the future (Bourdieu, 1990). Understanding these women's, prior gendered experiences of learning is important when examining how as women, as professional teachers they engage in learning in a work context.

Developing further understanding in this area is crucial as presently, conceptualisation of a 'good teacher' is dominated by the model of the rational professional, the effective teacher (HMIe, 2007b) (cf. Chapter 2, p.28 and Chapter 3, p.54), a model based on rational, male ways of knowing.

In reflecting on her early learning, Daisy had softly but eagerly proclaimed, "I loved school! You know how some children just don't, well I loved school! I never had **any** problems like that." The study women had shared this enthusiasm for school. Also common was a preference for Primary School as Claire had explained, "I enjoyed Primary School because I liked the teachers and I was quite happy there." Perhaps unsurprisingly enjoying school was important. Attending Primary School was often initially constructed as an unproblematic time made pleasurable by women who were frequently described as, "nice" teachers. Notably few references were made to male teachers.

'Nice' is an influential yet largely unexamined discourse in Primary education perhaps due to its everyday usage. They are a nice class; it is a nice piece of work; it was a nice assembly and sit nicely are but a few examples to be heard daily in schools across Scotland. Yet Nice is also a maligned discourse. Children are often steered away from using nice as an adjective in story writing as it is a 'non' word, a 'weak' word; a word that only communicates nuance rather than rich description. Nice therefore 'shapes a way of [the] knowing or telling we can do' (Davies, 2004a, p.139). Yet, while policy aims to produce managerially effective, excellent schools

(HMIe, 2006) staffed by pedagogically skilled, effective teachers (Moore, 2004), pupils and parents are also concerned that schools are staffed by Nice teachers.

The study women referred to teachers who were nurturing and created warm and safe environments; they described teachers who spoke softly and were motherly and friendly. The women had recalled teachers who were helpful, sensitive, kind and approachable and so had ensured that children were happy and fulfilled. The study women had remembered these, “nice teachers” affectionately as they had provided a sense of security that had allowed them to take risks in order to learn. At times, the women constructed other versions of teachers in contrast to Nice teachers. Debbie’s decision to become a teacher had been influenced by such a woman whom she spoke of with fondness, “I made up my mind very early on that I wanted to be a teacher I said ‘I’m going to be like Mrs. Jones’.” While Lucy had rejected early, a disciplinarian, authoritarian style of teaching adopted by a male HT:

I did have a Head Teacher in Primary School and he was almost at retiring age and he had been in the Army and he ran the school as if we were still in the Army (laughter) and I distinctly remember thinking when I am a teacher I am going to be so different to you.

A teacher, in Lucy’s experience, could be constructed as controlling and restrictive, Lucy, however, appeared to resist these tight boundaries. She seemed to feel they did not produce spaces where children were free to learn, producing instead regulated spaces which were negative, tightly structured and emotionally barren. The power inscribed in the construction of the Nice teacher is noteworthy as it is gendered and constructed within discourses of passivity and selflessness of giving and facilitating (Francis, 1998).

Schooling is therefore about far more than the construction of knowledge. Also in play is construction of habitus, of how to be, how to be girl, how to be boy. In response to social and cultural assumptions regarding the value of selfless care provided by nice but passive teachers the study women, or girls as they were then, produced themselves in response as Nice girls. This dominant construction of femaleness included an unaware and so unquestioned acceptance of the gendered construction of teaching as caring. Adopting a post-modern stance to gender, Butler

(1990) argues that gender is performative and discursively constructed both by and for us within existing power structures (Salih, 2002) (cf. Figure 8 Theoretical guide, p.119).

‘Doing girl’ in this study involved these women, or girls as they were at that time, inscribing themselves, like some of the girls in Benjamin’s (2002) study, in discourses of compliance and submission (cf. Chapter 4, p.104). These Nice girls had done as they were told, they followed rules, they worked hard, diligently and conscientiously while ‘trying to behave like the teacher or as the teacher seems to expect, so as to win her approval’ (Francis, 1998, p.40), although interestingly Francis claims that selfless behaviour is more likely to provoke teacher disdain than favour. This echoes Walkerdine’s (1990) earlier findings that female teachers often intensely disliked girls who displayed characteristics such as passivity and lack of confidence perhaps because, as in this study, ‘it is such girls who had become these teachers’ (Walkerdine, 1990, p.75).

However, performing Nice can win approval by making social interactions easy and enjoyable for others. My fieldnotes recording initial impressions had drawn attention to this; Kate - *Seemed like a nice woman* or Sue - *Nice, friendly woman*. However, doing Nice can have costs. Reay (2005, p.61) found that for both working-class girls and boys, ‘nice girls’ were constructed pejoratively and so ‘nice’ was not a position to aspire to due to its construction as weak. Such derogatory construction of Nice is not the case in this study. I have moved beyond bland but unproblematised statements such as *Seemed like a nice woman* as I suggest the Nice teachers added value to schools. However, as we see next, the Nice teachers also took on tasks shunned by others. Such actions, however, should be problematised.

A complex relationship exists between a desire to help and helplessness. Lucy, despite my attempts to mitigate the power inscribed in the researcher/participant relationship, drew attention to her inability to resist helping in a late revelation in an email stating that:

Primarily I took part in the research because you had spoken in person to me and I felt I ought to help you out. I am generally one of those people who cannot say no!!!!

Held (2006) draws attention to similar circumstances where highly caring people find themselves constantly demonstrating their caring. Constructing themselves as both caring and helpful meant the Nice women had, and continued to put aside their own needs and desires, as Gail had explained, “I just do as I am told, I always have.” This can then influence life chances as can be seen in Gail’s reasons for becoming a teacher:

... I don't know though how I then ended up at Moray House being a teacher because that has just got lost in the mists of time because I honestly don't know ... I really don't know, I really don't know because obviously I must have had a discussion with Guidance teachers, and I am very much I do what I am told and so I don't know whether because they mentioned it, because of the qualifications I had. Maybe they suggested that I should go into teaching rather than be a Nanny, because obviously they must have felt I wanted to work with children so teaching would be a better career than a Nanny because I remember going to [Primary School] to get experience of working in a classroom but I don't remember an actual decision of deciding, so I probably suspect that it has come from something like that.

However, this passive, dependant position does not always result in domination. It can be powerful relative to the ways the production of powerlessness is mobilised.

Francis (1998) suggests girls often believe facilitatory behaviour will bring favour from both teachers and other pupils. This is important as facilitatory behaviour can also create protection. In the event of an undesirable outcome, the more responsible, knowledgeable other can be held accountable; ensuring the identity of the Nice girl remains intact. However, as this power is produced often by giving away the right to a voice, it is both limited and limiting (Walkerdine, 1990). That said, in this study it produced a position where, when the girls had experienced unsuccessful learning, blame could be laid. Poor outcomes were outwith the control of the Nice girls. Rather, they were brought about because of following the advice of experts. Therefore for this group of women it had been important to first make explicit their identity as Nice girls, their desire to be ‘good’, before they were able to reveal their struggle when ‘playing the learning game’.

The majority of women in the study had initially declared that they enjoyed learning; this pro-school claim then sat in tension with the struggles some then revealed about learning at different stages. Notably, neither the Confident nor the Authoritative

women had experienced struggle. Alternatively, they had been more likely to tell stories of academic success. However, as explained previously my focus lies with CTs who were mainly Nice women so I turn now to discuss their common experiences. I begin by discussing ‘feeling unsuccessful with learning’. (As mentioned previously, the Kind women were conceptualised firstly as Nice women and so unless I indicate to the contrary, reference to the Nice women includes the Kind women.)

Playing the learning game: feeling unsuccessful with learning

Having reported initially an enthusiasm for learning, the Nice women’s tellings of their early learning experiences then began to reveal tensions. Their recollections of Primary School, High School and Higher Education went on to unveil stories of poor self-image as learners, of struggle and perhaps surprisingly of academic failure. Claire’s positive recollection of Primary School had not seemed so heartening when she disclosed a contrasting experience:

and when I went to Secondary School (pause) I kind of lost my way. ... My memories of Primary are all fond memories but my memories of Secondary are of struggling.

Claire left school before completing her O-levels²⁹, she had, “had enough”. She did not feel, “safe” as she had in Primary School and, “that was the difference”, feeling as though she:

was a number, ... , they didn’t care if I passed or failed. ... Why they put me into the Science, I don’t know. Maybe it was just to fill a class. That was how I feel it was, always put in to fill up numbers.

As I go on to discuss (cf. p.186), Science is a subject that is generally considered as a high status subject, yet Claire had not experienced this, conversely Science had contributed to her sense of lack and had left her feeling, “lost”.

²⁹ O-levels were the ordinary level qualifications commonly taken by students at one time in Scotland. The examinations were taken at the end of a two-year period of study in the third and fourth years of Secondary Education, around the age of 15-16 years. They were replaced by Standard Grades in 1984.

Feeling lost and struggling, however, was not limited to Secondary School. Jane remembered being, “a slow learner at Primary School” which at that time, she had perceived as an indication of her lack of ability:

When I was little at Primary School I never saw myself as being a high flier particularly, I just saw myself as being in the middle and then suddenly when I got to High School I suddenly realised that I wasn't in the middle, I was better than that.

Feeling unsuccessful and struggling to learn was not defined solely by perceptions of low academic ability, although this was an important aspect. Experiencing academic failure had further contributed to the construction of an identity as a struggling learner. Debbie had pragmatically described her experience of failure:

... then came Highers. I blew my Highers first time around as I thought I'd just sail through it the same as everything else and ended having to re-sit all bar one of them in sixth year.

For Ellie suffering failure had been a profound experience to be qualified even years on, “I didn't ever fail any exams, until Higher Maths, and that still sticks, that I failed, but I got it on an appeal (pause), I always like to say that!”

The performance as the Nice girl, however, provides a powerful shield in deflecting responsibility. Adopting a compliant stance meant that responsibility could be laid with more powerful others. From the earliest stages of schooling these Nice girls had worked hard, they had done as they were told. They had acted in accordance with the structures that governed the learning presented to them. They had not questioned nor resisted. So exam failure could be attributed to moving school, not understanding what studying/learning entailed, to parental expectations and to teachers; sometimes teachers in general, and at other times specific teachers had to shoulder the responsibility.

Unusually, Debbie had positioned learning as a process where she also had responsibilities. She had conspiratorially admitted that she had, “discovered boys sort of thing” and so the time that she had spent on study had decreased at a time when the course content had, “got really difficult”.

Remaining focused, however, was not a guarantee for success. Endeavoring to learn, then feeling let down by the outcome had been experienced by some of the women. Gail had explained in a flat voice:

I've never been aware of being one of the clever ones, I've always seen myself as somebody who can do lots of things but nothing really excellent, just turn your hand to lots of things ...I was never one of the ones who got the best marks but I was never someone who was failing, [I] was always (pause) just in the middle.

The contradictory feelings of enjoyment, struggle and at times, lack of accredited academic success should not be overlooked in understanding how these women had come to understand, experience and negotiate learning in the work place. What was more is that their workplace was the same institution, the same space where these women had earlier experienced learning negatively (cf. Chapter 7, p.194).

Ohrn (1993), drawing upon a Swedish study investigating social power relations in the classroom, highlights that although all students are in a subordinate position to teachers, teaching methods, the curriculum and interpersonal relationships are more favourable to boys. This is particularly the case when education progresses to higher levels as, at that level, education is more likely to coincide with boys' social orientation, with the construction of male rationality. Relationships with teachers become more impersonal, while at the same time more emphasis is placed on achievement and competition (Paechter, 1998). This can be at odds with some girls' social experiences and an orientation to a 'caring rationality' (Ohrn, 1993, p.148). The experiences of many of the Nice women support these findings.

At earlier stages of their education most of the Nice women had considered themselves to be more successful, yet as Ohrn (1993) suggests, they commonly began to experience difficulty as they progressed to, and then through, High School. Embarrassed perhaps by their difficulties, the women had offered justifications for their struggle; some had hinted they had to comply with rigid systems that had not fitted their way of knowing. However, their reasoning obscured an unexamined internalisation that the procedures and opportunities for learning were natural and normal. Therefore, it was they who were lacking and so it became their responsibility to justify, explain, excuse or even blame others for their lack of

success. In providing such a defense, the women unquestioningly constructed a deficit view of self becoming both accepting of, and complicit in, their Othering (Paechter, 1998).

Maths and the Sciences, the subject areas requiring rational, objective thinking were most often mentioned as sites of failure, bringing to the fore the dichotomous relationship of reason and emotion. Western philosophy does not attribute equal value to these terms. Rather, reason is given priority over emotion which is positioned negatively as the inverse (Paechter, 1998). Dominant gender discourses reflect this construction of males as rational and strong while women are emotive and weak (Francis, 1998). Even subtle masculine bias, such as drawing on examples from boys' experience to contextualise science lessons, reinforces traditional gendering of knowledge (Riddell, 2005). Girls' performance in Science has focused on the supposed deficiencies of girls without questioning the ways some girls know; how they understand and mediate decontextualised knowledge. As a consequence some girls, like Claire, 'appear' to underperform (Paechter, 1998, p.15). Such unexamined assumptions, however, do not encourage deconstruction of the nature of the scientific paradigm and its associated pedagogies (cf. Figure 4 Continuum of models for feminist pedagogies in science teaching [reproduced], p.91).

Alternatively, questioning how gendered ways of knowing may have mitigated against Claire's success could be more useful in building understanding of learning. If Claire's science teachers had adopted feminist pedagogies (Capobianco, 2007), her academic outcomes at that time may have differed.

Pedagogical approaches, which acknowledged many ways of knowing, may have provided a space for the study Nice women to achieve academic success, to grow in confidence and to accumulate cultural capital. However, in considering any reform thought must also be given to what could be lost. If all teachers were confident and assured, authoritative leaders, what would schooling in Scotland look like? Could theoretically knowledgeable teachers become so highly prized that caring qualities would be set aside (cf. Chapter 3, p.58)?

To return then to the experiences of the Nice women, sometimes quickly, for others as their story unfolded, the Nice women had disclosed that their learning experiences

had not necessarily always been smooth. Rather, that for some, the learning game was a messy business, sometimes enjoyable and even successful but at others a wanting and lonely experience. While ‘struggling to learn’ had often related to academic aspects of learning, having to learn alone had also been a troubling experience for many of the Nice women.

Learning alone: feeling isolated

How to maintain valued friendships at the end of High School had not presented a dilemma to Laura, a Confident woman. Her accumulated, institutional capital had value and so had provided her with choice, although her choice had been mediated by her habitus. Laura had spoken in a relaxed manner of a core group of girls whom she befriended at Primary School. A number of these friendships had endured. Approximately 40 years on, some of these girls remained as Laura’s closest friends. Reciprocal friendships had been cemented over time by taking on roles of bridesmaids, Godmothers and comforter when confronted by loss (Belenky *et al.*, 1986). So Laura, unlike a number of the Nice women had not been restricted by a need to gain further academic qualifications in order to access ITE. Laura had gained the grades she needed to access Higher Education albeit in spite of her reluctance to do so:

You didn’t want to be a smarty-pants! .. When I got to High School I did what was, (pause) well I made enough effort to get by but not enough to surpass my friends. And sometimes that was difficult. Keeping your Mum and Dad and your friends happy, it’s a fine line (laughs), you know, ‘what can I do to get a mark that’s acceptable for me and for everybody else to be happy with!’

In the absence of the challenge of how to gain sufficient academic qualification, Laura had been able to consider relational satisfaction. Indeed, for Laura the personal domain had been so important that it had not been set aside. Maintaining satisfying relationships had been a strong influence in her decision to become a teacher, “I became a teacher because it was what all my friends were going to do.” Yet for Laura ‘doing girl’ and ‘doing success’ had a cost. Like the High Achieving Popular girls in Francis and Skelton’s Study (2009), Laura had not pursued options which, “were a bit more academic”. Opting instead for emotional investment, Laura had explained that the learning that had been presented during her Teacher Training

course had offered her little intellectual challenge. She had confided, “[I am] aware I could have pursued a more intellectually demanding course”. In contrast, and of importance to Laura, was that she had experienced a high level of social satisfaction, furthermore, as she was popular had easily found trusted peers to learn with.

For the study women the social and relational aspects of learning were and, at the time of the study, remained inextricably linked. The Nice women’s constructions, however, had often contrasted with Laura’s fond memories. Sue had recalled unhappy Primary School experiences when she felt:

quite miserable then, I used to be forced out! [of the house] ... [but this was] ...more social than learning, I think I must have learned. I don’t remember that as the prime worry. The prime worry was feeling left out and not having anyone to play with because I must have been good enough to get by but it was mostly social yea (pause), it was mostly social.

Developing and maintaining relationships can provide support, both socially and in relation to learning. Focusing on emotional connectedness, the women had often referred to the importance of personal interactions during learning. The consequences of the lack of such relationships had also featured. Jane had recalled an early Primary School experience of learning as a solitary endeavour:

... in Maths you were withdrawn and you were taught in a group and you were spoken to in your group but you went off and did something by yourself. You weren’t allowed to copy and you weren’t allowed to talk to your neighbour. (pause) You had to do it by yourself and if you were stuck you had to ask the teacher and that was the only person you were allowed to talk to about it.

Jane’s sense of isolation had been evident. In that instance, learning had been produced as transmissive and individual (cf. Figure 2 Spectrum of CPD Models [reproduced], p.67). Schooling had taught Jane that in order to attain success, she needed to be able to memorise and individually reproduce demonstrated techniques: a method that was at odds with her preference for constructivist, collaborative learning (Brooks and Brooks, 1999). Jane had explained:

I like learning with a group of people and all working things out together, I don't like somebody to tell me something and then I have to directly do it because then I find I won't be able to go away and do it, I need somebody to talk it through, it is no use being told something directly that I have to do, I need somebody to guide me, who I can bounce ideas off and who I can work together with.

Yet while the women had provided different reasons for their preference for collaborative learning, the desire to collaborate had sometimes obscured a need to preserve the performance as the Nice girl. Gail had intriguingly responded, “safety in numbers” when asked if she preferred learning alone or with others. Then amid nervous laughter she had prompted, “Do you want me to be perfectly honest?” Gail then went on and confessed that, “You can hide in a group” and as learning takes, “courage” sometimes it was safer to leave decision making to others. At that moment Gail’s sense of vulnerability and lack of confidence as a learner had overwhelmed me. I saw her through Walkerdine’s (1990) eyes as a little girl still struggling with learning.

Daisy had also frankly, drawn attention to her lack of confidence in trying to negotiate critical, academic debate when engaged in group work at University:

it was a lot more group work and I did enjoy it, up to a point. But again it was, [well] people have very strong opinions and a lot of the time it was ... ‘Okay well I'll sit back and you can have your say’, (pause), but when you are struggling it is good 'cause you can hear what other people have to say.

Daisy’s performance of Nice had been highly feminised. Her softly spoken voice had often seemed apologetic in tone and she had giggled nervously throughout the interview. Avoiding, or at least controlling, conflict was important for the Nice women. However, adopting a passive stance and allowing others to have their say had limited their opportunities for learning. Although engaged in seemingly constructivist learning Daisy had adopted a transmissive mode in her acceptance of the views of others (cf. Figure 2 Spectrum of CPD Models [reproduced], p.67).

Many of the Nice and the Kind women had mentioned avoiding isolation when learning. In this study, socio-cultural contexts were important for these women’s ways of knowing (Belenky *et al.*, 1986). Yet the place of the emotional and personal in learning was also problematic. Even when engaged in what may be described as

feminist pedagogies (Capobianco, 2007), Daisy's habitus, her way of doing girl had marginalised her. Simply providing alternative pedagogic experiences had been insufficient to create a disjunction, to enable Daisy to perform masculine disruption, to assert herself, to speak out and to demand to be heard. Being Nice had meant that it was difficult for Daisy to stand up for herself (Paechter, 2011). Collaboration took courage. Invisibility had concealed her struggle to learn. The cost of overtly disrupting power relations can be high. So although seemingly desirable, participating in collaborative learning was risky and for Nice women could reveal their vulnerability which can be costly and in the absence of confidence, of resilience, 'not for the likes of us' (Bourdieu, 1990, p.56). As Daisy had demonstrated, even collaborative learning could be isolating; sometimes it had been better to, "play it safe and just say nothing." The identity of the Nice woman, as supportive and non-confrontational, as non-threatening was then preserved.

Summary

Although admittedly tenuous due to the number of participants and the nature of selection, in this chapter I argued that early learning is important in shaping understandings of how to be a girl and this is interrelated with understandings of how to be a learner.

Overall the significant attributed characteristic which all the teachers shared was that of being Caring. Notably though, there were differences in the ways the teachers performed being a woman. The Nice and the Kind women in this study were more likely to be Class Teachers while the Confident and the Authoritative women were more likely to be ChTs.

It seems that the professional identities performed by the teachers were influenced by their personal habitus, which was shaped in part through early schooling. There were differences in the ways the groups characterised their learning. While the Confident and Authoritative women had talked of academic success, the Nice and the Kind women had identified struggling with learning. The Nice women had been more likely to reveal experiences where learning had brought about a sense of lack, a sense that they were inadequate, unable to learn 'properly'. This was in contrast to the ways that the Confident and the Authoritative women had talked of the opportunities

that their cultural capital, accumulated through formal education, had brought them throughout their lives. In contrast, the Nice and the Kind women seemed to share an identity that was compliant and hesitant to make claim to their place in the world.

Having introduced the women and highlighted how they performed certain aspects of their identities, in the next chapter I move to discuss some of the ways identity influences experiences and understandings of learning as a teacher, as a professional.

Chapter 7

Learning as a Woman Primary Teacher: experiences and understandings

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the gendered nature of learning and the influence that this has had on the study women's conceptualisations of doing girl and learner. In this chapter, I begin to make connections with how the women's identities and understandings of learning have influenced their professional learning as women Primary Teachers.

'The power of space' and 'legitimisation of learning' along with 'attending courses' and 'teachers learning with teachers' were key themes across the teacher participants' interviews. These themes were constructed as parts of the broader theme 'learning as a woman Primary Teacher'. Building on the themes presented in Chapter 6, I next discuss the study women's experiences of learning spaces and the interrelatedness of these experiences with models of learning, specifically with learning that can and learning that cannot count.

Again due to the difficulty in understanding the complexity of identity and experiences of learning within one conceptual guide, I drew upon gender theory (cf. Chapter 4, p.101) and Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of habitus, field and capital as tools for thinking (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2006) (cf. Chapter 4, p.110). I also made use of Kennedy's (2005) and Fraser *et al*'s. (2007) frameworks (cf. Figure 2 Spectrum of CPD Models [reproduced], p.67 and Figure 3 Reid's quadrants of teacher learning [reproduced], p.70) to analyse the teachers' learning experiences.

The importance of teacher learning in a globalised economy

Significant importance is placed on teacher's learning in the McCrone Agreement; 35 hours are specifically set aside annually, for CPD. As we shall see in this chapter, a great deal is expected from the 35 hours.

Although in Scotland the accountability discourse is frequently reported as less forceful than in England (Ball, 2006) and other parts of the world (Sachs, 2001), it is still of concern (Doherty and McMahon, 2007). Kennedy (2007) asserts that teachers in Scotland are subject to increasing accountability and political control which should not become overshadowed by policy discourses which espouse the rhetoric of professionalism and autonomy.

Day and Sachs (2004a) write of the crucial importance of teachers' learning in transforming education. In Scotland teachers' CPD will have a part to play in bringing about effective curricular reform as laid out in CfE (SG, 2009). However, the nature and purpose of CPD is complex and arguably goes beyond effective policy implementation. The commonsenseness of the McCrone Agreement's requirement for balanced participation in CPD at varied levels (cf. Chapter 2, p.19) masks the conflicts and contradictions in negotiating personal and professional identities (cf. Chapter 3, p.48 and Chapter 6, p.176); formal and informal learning; individual and collective learning, and learning in the private or public realm.

Legitimising learning: the power of space

The McCrone Agreement indicates the mandatory 35 hours of CPD 'shall be carried out at an appropriate time and place' (SEED, p.7). Loosely specifying conditions for time and place implies some awareness that teachers could be subject to excessive demand on their time. Yet while stipulating learning should take place 'at an appropriate time and place' (SEED, p.7) may provide protection from having to engage in learning during holiday periods or locations difficult to reach in working hours, for many of the women in this study this condition added to their struggle of how to conceptualise and legitimise professional learning.

The policy discourse would likely construct the notion of choice of time and place as promoting professional autonomy. However, compliance was a dominant characteristic among the Nice women. This disposition notably influenced their performance of being a professional. The embeddedness of this discourse in the women's personal habitus seemed to make it difficult for the Nice women to resist the accountability discourse and thus the need for legitimacy of time and place to be bestowed by others.

In order to understand how the personal habitus operates within the field of policy, how the Nice women as teachers experienced and understood professional learning, I now discuss why the teacher's learning had taken place where it had. This is important as:

Gendering of space and place both reflects *and has effects back on* the ways in which gender is constructed and understood in the societies in which we live

(Massey, 1994, p.186, emphasis in the original).

Formal spaces: learning that counts

In Scotland, at the time of the study, the Education Centre was commonly the site of learning through CPD. In the EA where this study took place³⁰ twilight courses were available from Monday to Friday from 4.30-6.30 p.m. throughout the School year. In EAs that operate the Friday half-day system CPD was also frequently available on Friday afternoons. In the study authority, courses were led by a variety of providers; some offered their services to the EA while others were sought out. Teachers also led courses. As I discuss later, teachers learning from teachers was promoted as a positive model for teacher learning. Some teachers like Fay offered their services in relation to teacher learning while others like Mandy had been invited by the EA CPD QIO. At the time of the study, centralized training procurement had been undergoing change. In part, the change was pedagogically driven due to the demand to be prepared to deliver CfE (SG, 2009) but it had also been in response to the general demand to constrain public sector spending.

Why courses, why not courses?

Advancing an educational argument for the changed provision, the CPD QIO had envisaged that in the coming years, across EAs, fewer CPD sessions would be provided by independent providers. However, she did not think that this would present problems in continuing to provide CPD at EA level. She had explained that among the study EA's QIOs there was a consensus that there was, "evidence of

³⁰ As referring to 'the EA where this study takes place' is clumsy, hereafter I will refer to the study authority although I stress this does not imply that this research is to be thought of as a case study of the authority.

excellent practice” within the authority. In line with advice from HMIE (2011a), the QIOs believed *excellent practice* should be disseminated more often among teachers. More candidly, however, a school CPD Co-ordinator had explained she had been told there would be little money for CPD the following year. Cost effectiveness in meeting school improvement plan targets was to determine how her small budget would be used. She explained that there was a need to start thinking creatively about in-house teacher development for teachers as individuals, especially those whom her team had deemed to be demonstrating performance quantified as satisfactory or below.

That said, during the academic session 2008-2009, the courses available at the Education Centre had numbered around 200. Some were offered on more than one occasion. The details of many of the courses had been made available to the authority teachers at the end of the preceding academic year, and the list was updated monthly. Although the courses were focused to meet the needs of varied audiences by sector and at times by career stage, I had been interested only in courses attended by Primary Teachers. Yet even with this limitation the availability of courses appropriate for Primary Teachers were plentiful. As the opportunities were plentiful, in line with the teachers in Draper and Sharp’s study (2006), the teachers in this study were discriminating about what they considered helpful CPD. Lucy’s position had been clear-cut; she was, “picky” when it came to attending courses.

Generally, the venue for organised learning, for courses, in the study authority was the Education Centre. Yet although teachers as adult women now work in Primary Schools and learn in the Education Centre, Primary Schools are also the institutions where early socialisation of what it is to be a learner took place. It was where the women had been provided with the means and understanding of the purpose and value of education and of schooling, a disposition which ‘can be perpetuated even when the conditions of its exercise have more or less completely disappeared (with entry into the world of work)’ (Bourdieu, 2000, p.14). A complex relationship thus existed for the teachers between schools as institutions, as places of early learning and now with the same institution as their place of work.

In order to explore how space/place influences learning, I begin by briefly describing a contemporary classroom, one that could be found in most of the Primary Schools in Scotland.

The space of Primary School

Primary Schools are the spaces where children start to become pupils, where they learn how to perform as a learner. Socialisation into gender roles also takes place in these spaces. Learning how to become a girl, how to become a boy is influenced by schooling. Aiming to further understand the influence of schooling was an important aspect of this thesis and as Bourdieu (2000, p.165) claims:

the process of transformation through which one becomes a miner, a farmer, a priest, a musician, a teacher or an employer is long, continuous and imperceptible ... [and] starts in childhood.

Primary Schools are generally noisy, busy and colourful places. Walls are decorated with children's work carefully displayed to create aesthetic appeal while at the same time celebrating children's learning. Yet Primary Schools are governed by structures of power through control and surveillance produced as levels of bureaucracy and rules. Rules create different positions within social hierarchies (Webb *et al.*, 2002). In these and many other respects, schools globally share similarities while at the same time schools construct individual, institutional identities. However, inequality exists in schools.

Although inhabited mainly by children, space in school is controlled and regulated by adults. Children in Primary Schools have relatively little structural power. Teachers decide who uses classroom spaces, when spaces are used and how a space is organised. Teachers also control which spaces are designated as public or as private. Furthermore, teachers have the power to sanction those who are considered to have used the space inappropriately. However, although teachers control classrooms spaces they too are constrained hierarchically in how they can choose to use the space. Teachers are subordinate to HTs who control the wider space of a school.

Schools, both structurally and socially, inculcate children into a schooling disposition. The schooling disposition, however, is not necessarily fixed as it varies with the personal habitus (Bourdieu, 2000). The learning game therefore comprises many players (Bourdieu, 2000). For some the schooling disposition brings advantage, but for others due to 'conditions of acquisition' (Bourdieu, 2000, p.24) learning in school can perpetuate socially limiting understandings and positions. Relevant to this study are understandings related to gender.

Having suggested that Primary schools were the institutions where, in part, the women's understandings of formal learning had taken place, I now compare Primary Schools with the Education Centre, the institution where much formal teacher learning took place.

The space of the Education Centre

My description of the study Education Centre is based on fieldnotes made during October-November 2008. Although the purpose of my visits to the Centre had been to identify potential participants, after waiting on a number of occasions for teachers to arrive, I began to recognise patterns in teacher's behaviours. I began to see the influence a place can have on behaviour. I had then problematised the influence of space by questioning what the influence of the Education Centre as a space may mean for a teacher as a learner. In contrast to their role in school, when the teachers attended learning events in the Education Centre they had little power.

The Education Centre space in the study authority had little identity. The walls had displayed posters disconnected by colour or content, with some long outdated (Fieldnotes, November, 2008). Children's work was presented differently in the Education Centre. 'Exceptional' work had been framed, presumably to be admired, but drew as little attention as the unconnected posters which had displayed the four capacities of CfE (SG, 2009) and a take-away sandwich menu. A plasma screen broadcasting Sky news had seemed somewhat alien in the space. It was out of place, irrelevant to the teachers waiting to inhabit the spaces designated as classrooms. None of the displays suggested that the teachers who had used the space had achieved anything because of their learning. Even the children's work had been

outwith the activities of the space. Most of it had been Artwork. Art courses were not offered there.

The waiting area, the social space, was adult-like; the soft furnishings were adult appropriate and clustered around low-level tables. Yet it remained a functional space. The structural power of place negated attempts to construct the area as domestic, as private. 12 teachers had been present but there was little noise (Fieldnotes, November 2008). Although no one 'in authority' was there, it was clear that the teachers gathered in the social area did not control the space. Rather, the teachers had used the area politely, self-consciously. Many had peered through the glass on the door before they had entered, presumably to try to spot a friendly or at least known face, before they entered. The teachers had politely helped themselves to tea and coffee making sure not to make a mess, by trying to limit the spillage from an uncooperative milk jug. One had harked back to a controversial proposition that tea and coffee was to be withdrawn, "I still can't believe they were going to do away with this" (Fieldnotes, November 2008).

Although a social area designated for teachers engaged in CPD, the teachers had clearly been visitors. The space had imposed itself on them, in striking contrast to Primary Schools where they were accustomed to imposing themselves on the space. Some teachers had found a colleague or even a friend to chat with. They had struck up conversation easily enough. As members of a shared world, common subjects had not been hard to find. However, the women's voices had seemed quiet, while the one male voice had seemed loud, unconstrained. The space had seemed to influence the man and the women differently (Massey, 1994). Other women had simply waited. For some, their nervous glances and the way they had perched on the edge of their seats, had suggested they were not comfortable. Although not present on the day, I made this note I had been reminded of Kate. I had imaged her discomfort when waiting, "I'm not very good at going into places if I don't know somebody and thinking, 'Oh' and sitting down and nobody to talk to me." The teachers had arrived with varied levels of composure. Many of the stragglers had looked the most harried, overburdened as they had dropped heavily into the chairs. When the time had come to move when the courses started, there had been no sense

of enthusiasm, variations of, “I suppose we better move” had been muttered along with mumbling as to the appropriateness of taking cups of coffee into the side rooms, “I’ve not finished this, are we allowed to take coffee in or only water?” Uncertainty and reluctance had characterised the mood that day. Some teachers had even seemed hesitant about which room to go to, even though most would have used the space previously. Unsurprisingly, the only room that was located easily was the ICT suite.

The spaces used for learning were rational and impersonal and had even less identity than the social space. The walls, fresh but neutral in colour, had been bare; apart from one which had been host to a range of technology. A Smartboard³¹ had been flanked by a pull-down screen on one side and a white board and flip chart on the other. The technology had controlled the seating arrangements. As the room was used for a range of learning events, it may have been an aim that the space would be constructed as neutral, implying perhaps that learning too could be considered similarly.

The teachers had seated themselves without disturbing the chairs, which had been pre-arranged in a horseshoe to face the Smartboard. Adopting identities as learners, with an understanding of how to be a Nice class, the group had settled down becoming respectfully quiet when the teaching began. In this space their identity as professionals, as teachers had seemed worth less than an identity, durable across time (Bourdieu, 2000), as a compliant learner, as a Nice girl.

Although managerial arguments could easily be made regarding the efficiency and convenience of standardised, centrally organised learning, more meaningful questions can still be posed regarding why teacher learning takes place where it does and the place space plays in agendas of power and control (Kennedy, 2005).

In the study authority, the space of the Education Centre operated to legitimise learning as a valid learning experience so it could ‘count’ as part of a teacher’s CPD, to the extent that nearly all the teachers had indicated that attendance at organised learning was expected. Jane had explained, “... most of it has to be courses so you

³¹ Smartboard is a commercial brand for an interactive whiteboard.

can account for what you're doing". That said, that the teachers associated learning with spaces set aside for that purpose was hardly surprising. Most of the teachers had experienced early schooling in Primary School then had attended High School learning as pupils, moved to Universities to learn as students then had returned to Primary School as teachers. Locating learning within controlled spaces, institutions set aside for learning, is part of how understandings of formal learning would have been constructed by most of the study teachers.

Mandated by the McCrone Agreement, the women as teachers had a contractual obligation not only to engage in learning but also to evidence and record their learning. Learning is commodified as transparent and auditable (McWilliam, 2002). Furthermore, the HMIe discourse of quality assurance specifies impact from learning to be trackable, visible and measurable (HMIe, 2007b). The site of learning, the Education Centre was therefore important as a means of control over teachers' learning. Attendance at the Education Centre was trackable. Indeed screening the content of courses was the responsibility of the QIO for CPD. As Kennedy (2005) notes there are connections between CPD models and underpinning issues of purpose and power (cf. Figure 2 Spectrum of CPD Models [reproduced], p.67). Kennedy (2005) further stresses the limiting, transmissive nature of the training model through the control of the content and mode of pedagogy.

The power inscribed in the Education Centre's CPD was difficult for the study women to challenge. Placing trust in the quality and relevance of learning promoted through the authority of the Education Centre seemed to provide a way for the Nice women to be good teachers. However, as Kennedy (2006, p.51) also points out paternalistic 'standardisation of training opportunities overshadows the need for teachers to be proactive in identifying and meeting their own development needs', a point to note when conceptualising teaching as extending beyond a standards-based, competence model.

Adey (2004) claims that for a proposed model of CPD to be effective that the aims of the course must be congruent with teachers' understandings. Yet Gail had expressed an element of concern with the applicability and transferability of some CPD content to her own teaching. She had impassionedly explained, "You sit there and you think

‘You’re off your head, there is no way that you can do that in the classroom! Why are you standing there saying that?’ ” However, as a Nice teacher, she had not interrupted the course leader. She had not expressed dissent. She had not disagreed and openly countered, ‘Yes, but ...’ her fiercely felt contention, her understanding of teaching had remained unvoiced, silenced. Like Kate, “as much as I’ve been on a course that wasn’t good there’s usually the occasional thing where I would say ‘well oh, okay that bit was helpful’,” Gail’s indignation had given way to unquestioning faith that there had be some usefulness in the course content. Such a belief had pervaded most of the women’s discussions of such CPD training, to the extent that Lucy could not remember such an experience, “I’m trying to think of one, it has a while since I have [been on] something like that [a course of low quality]”.

However, consideration of course quality had been limited to the quality of delivery and the transferability of the content. The women had appeared to take the appropriateness of the learning presented as taken-for-granted. It seemed that simply by merit of being available in the Education Centre, a space controlled by the EA, that the appropriateness of the learning was outwith the teachers’ right to question. The Nice women had seemed again to consider themselves as Other to those who ‘know’ about education, those able to provide central direction about curriculum and pedagogy. For the Nice women making such critical comment had seemed ‘not for the likes of us’ (Bourdieu, 1990, p.56). Their role instead had been to passively receive and integrate new knowledge or skills even when it had not seemed to fit with existing practice (Kennedy, 2006). The women’s thinking had been influenced by the dominant policy paradigm of how to be a good teacher; to be an effective teacher (cf. Chapter 3, p.54).

Although a way to try to understand the Nice women’s learning practice had been to analyse it in relation to the field of policy, this approach had provided only a partial explanation. I had then decided that to understand the Nice women’s unquestioning approach to course attendance further that I had to look beyond the demands of the field of policy and consider habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) . I then explored the influence of gender and schooling on the Nice girls who are now the Nice teachers.

The Nice women found themselves unable to resist the discourse of compliance particularly when the learning took place in the Education Centre. During schooling, Jane had experienced learning, as transmissive and individual, controlled by an adult whose power she could not challenge (cf. Chapter 6, p.189). Bourdieu (2000) claims that schools best serve the interests of children who already have access to the values and understandings education promotes. For others their place in the learning hierarchy as subordinate is confirmed.

The teachers I had observed in the Education Centre came together as Nice classes. Active performance of masculinity had not been evident (Rogers and Evans, 2008). The teachers had been neither boisterous nor demanding. Rather, feminine performance of submission of conformity and obedience (Francis and Skelton, 2009) had prevailed. Kennedy (2005) and Fraser, Kennedy, Reid and McKinney (2007) rightly draw attention to the potential power of models of learning, claiming that socio-cultural influences also play a part in understanding how learning is constructed. The space of a Primary School or an Education Centre can undermine the potential of learning, for some groups, due to the habitus of the learners no matter the intention of the learning model, content or intended outcomes.

The control of the content of teachers' learning through the training model and the lack of thought given to equitable pedagogical practices (Capobianco, 2007) by QIOs and course providers led me to then problematise the notion that learning should, or even could, be, limited to an appropriate time and place. I began to wonder if learning could take place at 'inappropriate' times and in 'inappropriate' places, and if so, where such learning could take place and to what extent this could disrupt the control of teacher's learning?

Informal spaces: learning that can't count

Following attendance at a 3-day course, Grace had explained that due to the intensity of the experience, and her desire to understand further the day's learning on pedagogy, that she had needed to reflect on how the new pedagogies could be integrated into her practice. She had gone with another course delegate to a coffee shop at the end of each day to, "... debrief, although we did it during the day we needed a really big debrief!" Grace, however, had not recorded the learning on her

CPD Record as, “Well it was in Starbucks³² (pause), you couldn’t really.” Even as a teacher who had demonstrated the attributed characteristics of Authority and Confidence, Grace’s habitus had restricted her preparedness to redefine and shape an alternative construction of a learning space.

Grace had gone to the coffee shop with the intention of actively progressing understanding (Eraut, 2000c). So although Grace had seemed prepared to engage in disruptive practice, her apparent countering of traditional controlling structures was not followed through. Rather, her understandings of appropriate places were restricted to sanctioned buildings where the function of the venue was to provide a learning opportunity.

Reconceptualising learning space had presented a struggle for the teachers. This struggle suggests that further understanding is required of the planned, informal learning proposed by Reid (Fraser *et al.*, 2007, p.153), if the proposed triple lens model is to meet its aim to establish ‘a clear framework within which CPD and teacher learning can be analysed and evaluated systematically’. Although mention is made of ‘off-site’ (Fraser *et al.*, 2007, p.154) provision, this still relates to formalised learning where teachers attend organised events (OECD, 1998). While attentive to informal learning, the learning experiences described in Fraser *et al.*’s. (2007) quadrant take account of learning only in sanctioned spaces.

As a part-time teacher at the time of the study, Ellie did not have a permanent contract and so carried out much of her learning in her “spare time” at home. Ellie, like Grace, had not recorded much of her learning.

Individual learning that takes place at home is also outwith Fraser *et al.*’s. (2007) model, even though it is commonly recognised that teachers often engage in work related activities long after the end of the working day (McPhee and Patrick, 2009). As highlighted in the previous examples, some of the teachers had engaged in learning experiences that were deliberative, non-formal in nature and took place outwith controlled areas (Eraut, 2000c). Yet due to the nature of the activities, they

³² Starbucks is a global, American based coffee shop company.

were overlooked as a necessary part of the learning process even though they importantly, as the learning was teacher directed, took account of where the teachers were in their own careers and of their professional and personal needs (Day, 1999). However, a lack of agency to define the appropriateness of learning brought about a failure to record the learning. The managerial tone which can be found in the McCrone Agreement seemed to have had more influence on the teaching profession than the spirit of the original McCrone Report (SEED, 2000) to enhance professional autonomy.

Having discussed the power of space and the influence space had in sanctioning learning as recordable as learning that counted, I now discuss the study teachers and models of learning. I begin with a discussion of formal learning and follow with non-formal learning.

Conceptualising learning: courses and beyond

Literature debating the purpose and nature of teacher learning tends to be authored and read by academics. While literature may conceive of teacher learning as a contested concept, it is important to recognise teacher learning also as a lived, embodied experience. During the interviews, therefore I had aimed to encourage the teacher participants to look beyond the taken-for-granted in order that they too could have space to examine and offer their understandings of teacher learning.

Although the purposes for professional learning can be said to be varied and this lack of definition can be of concern to those who aim to understand the links between CPD and teachers' learning (Christie, 2003; Purdon, 2003a; Forde *et al.*, 2006), this appeared less problematic for the teachers in this study. Reflecting their conceptualisation as Caring Teachers (cf. Figure 11 Diagram representing attributed significant characteristics of Primary Teachers as caring women, p.149), their shared understanding of CPD had been constructed around a professional responsibility to develop their pedagogy in order to meet their commitment to children. To meet this commitment the Nice women had constructed their role as followers, those who attended learning events. In contrast, the Confident women had constructed their role as leaders, those who explicitly shared their knowledge with other teachers with the aim of progressing practice.

For the Nice women the commitment to progress children's learning had often been met through frequent attendances at courses. However, participation in a range of alternative forms of learning was also evident. Yet, while the form of some learning had seemed alternative, structural regulation was ever present (cf. Chapter 2, p.38). This regulation had constrained the teachers' agency to engage in autonomous progression of either their practice, knowledge or understanding of theory. While this had seemed to be more evident across the Nice and the Kind³³ women's experiences, as I go on to suggest it had also seemed to be the case for the Confident and the Authoritative women, even though they laid claim to performing as autonomous professionals.

Formal learning: attending courses

When most of the teachers had talked about their professional learning, which they had all referred to as CPD, courses were most commonly mentioned. Referring to her diary Lucy had explained, "It's mostly courses that I've attended, the vast majority of it is the courses I've attended, there are odd bits and pieces but ...". Interestingly, many of the women had referred to learning opportunities as neither CPD nor courses but as CPD courses, Daisy had stated, "The first CPD course I went to was Promoting Positive Behaviour." Deconstructing this language use suggested these teachers were somewhat aware that CPD could take different models and that they may have been aware of the differing purposes and underpinning ideologies of CPD.

Jane had seemed to recognise the restricted, transmissive nature of delivered knowledge (cf. Figure 2 Spectrum of CPD Models [reproduced], p.67). She had drawn attention to an experience when a course provider had expounded one way of thinking about teaching by claiming that it had the potential for educational reform. However, for Jane his lecturing approach had problematically marginalised and excluded other ways of knowing:

³³ As indicated previously, Kind women are conceptualised firstly as Nice women and so unless I indicate to the contrary reference to Nice women from here includes Kind women.

*The last CPD we did was in the afternoon of a very long week and we were in the hall all afternoon and there was a man (pause,) who talked **at us** for two hours*

(my emphasis).

Being, “talked at” had caused Jane to feel resentment. However, the unquestionable hegemonic nature of the control had silenced her response. For Jane although the lecturing approach had been unacceptable, due in part to her disposition as a Nice woman, it had at the same time been unquestionable.

The study teachers, therefore, had seemed aware of the potentially controlling nature of formal learning, of course content and of power inscribed in the delivery model (cf. Figure 4 Continuum of models for feminist pedagogies in science teaching [reproduced], p.91). However, as Eraut (2000c) stresses formal learning can be appropriate and in many instances meets teachers’ needs. These teachers were also aware of this; Claire had emphasised, “... sometimes you need a new idea”. The desired outcome of course attendance in these instances had been the acquisition of knowledge. The purposes for attending the events had been to up-date or acquire new skills. However, this instrumental construction of learning suggests a simplistic understanding of being a teacher rooted in the standards-based model of the effective teacher (cf. Chapter 2, p.28). Daisy, a Probationer who had completed a one-year teacher training qualification, had expressed her preference for procedural knowledge:

I like practical things that are going to be useful to me, to help me get better at things but I don’t like listening to a lot of theory, I like practical ideas that I can go away and try.

Like the teachers in Kennedy *et al*’s. (2008b) study, Daisy at the early stage of her career sought procedural knowledge in order to meet the demand of her new job. A focus of Curriculum for Excellence (SG, 2009) is teaching in context, so seeking out activities which enable pedagogical aims to be met is understandable.

Similarly, Tanya, with around 30 years teaching experience, had expressed her need to access formal learning to update knowledge with both theory and practice in mind, “... you can become out of touch with things and you need to know what’s new and

what's available". For Gail course attendance had also offered the opportunity to access evidence-based knowledge, "You know how you were always told to teach spelling one way but now they have researched it and they know that doesn't work now." Sue had enthused about an ICT animation program introduced and made accessible to her through course attendance. Sue had been clear that summarized information about software was why she had attended formal, organised ICT courses. She thought being guided through software was more effective in providing an overview than time spent on individual trial and error, as it freed up time to plan how to use the resource.

It can be argued that the women's experiences of course attendance was in line with their purposes for attending. In these instances the teachers had not intended to engage in debate of the principles of education (Humes, 2001) nor to act as knowledge constructors (Tickle, 2001). Rather, their purposes had been variously to gain training or to acquire practical knowledge in order to implement pedagogy or curriculum in line with current ideologies. In these instances, the women's purpose for attending courses had been the acquisition of information through transmission by the course provider. Due to the nature of the teacher's work, the need for learning that has utility is understandable. The teachers' restricted interest in only their own classrooms and seeming lack of intellectual curiosity in wider learning (Reeves, 2009) can raise concerns though regarding the worth of such leaning in the longer term.

Course attendance can be located in Kennedy's (2005) training model of CPD, as the content of the events had enabled the teachers to update their skills. Kennedy (2005, p.237) suggests this form of CPD 'supports a skills-based technocratic view of teaching' and due to the nature of the delivery can place teachers in a passive role. Many of the courses available to the teachers could have been described as providing procedural knowledge. The content had frequently appeared to be focused around updating practical skills with titles such as: *How to teach Writing*, *How to manage behaviour*, *How to meet the needs of Dyslexic Learners*. Of concern though is the usefulness of skills in an absence of propositional knowledge; of the conceptualisation of teaching as a technical, logical construct developed through the

introduction of objective, targeted CPD (Ball, 2003). In the absence of theoretical understanding it may be difficult to progress knowledge acquisition to challenge ideological agendas, to engage in critical analysis of the power and purpose of seemingly neutral constructs of curriculum or pedagogies (Apple, 2006).

However, advancing such thinking had seemed to be outwith many of the Nice women's understandings of the purpose of teacher learning. Then, as a consequence of choosing to focus on training, attendance at courses reduced the teacher's agency leaving them, as Kennedy (2005) suggests, vulnerable to the agendas of both National and Local education policy. However, when a construction of the teacher in line with the model of the effective teacher is favoured, technical accomplishment as determined by National and Education Authority policy will equip teachers with knowledge of policy valued authorised skills and procedures.

Although the Nice women had attended many courses as indicated earlier by Gail and Kate (cf. this chapter, p.201), dissatisfaction had at times been evident. For Ellie it had related to what she had perceived as the providers' hidden agenda. She had animatedly explained, "The last one I went on was a selling pitch all afternoon and ... and I don't have the power or the money to buy and I don't know why I was sent." Ellie's construction of the teacher as learner had seemed very much at odds with the provider's construction of the teacher as consumer, an area seldom discussed, yet given the commercial nature of some CPD provision unsurprising.

At a time of increased economic prudence, that CPD could become commercially driven should not be overlooked. For example, new software may be attractive to school management teams if it comes with 'free' training courses. That decisions influencing teachers' learning are already being made with financial constraint in mind was argued earlier in this chapter. Therefore extending financial prudence to the extent that pedagogy may become directed by commercial packages should be a concern for those responsible for teachers' education.

Debbie had had a similar experience to Ellie. However, as the selling pitch took place during Debbie's contracted teaching time, unlike Ellie, Debbie had not experienced the dilemma of whether to include the time in her CPD record. In

contrast, Ellie's experience had been during her additional CPD obligation. She had decided therefore to record the whole course as learning time. Her justification was that as she was "sent" on the course, it was her school management team's responsibility to be clear about the course aims:

I got an email from the Head that said there is this ... course and she suggested I go on it, so that wasn't my suggestion for that one ... , so I did go on it but I am not sure it was the right sort of thing for [Class] Teachers. It was two mornings and it was my days off and I thought well I need to do these hours because to be honest it felt like 'well it's nothing to do with me but I'll be able to tick the hours off'.

So on the one hand although course attendance could be useful, it had not always delivered what the teachers had expected. Yet while all the Nice women had attended EA courses, this was not echoed in the behaviour of the Confident and Authoritative women.

Formal learning: rejecting courses?

In contrast, Laura and Mandy, Confident women, had attended few if any EA courses. Debbie had questioned the value of such learning stating, "I'm really not sure about formal courses anymore." Of note here is not the Confident women's apparent rejection of course attendance, but the type of courses with which they expressed dissatisfaction. All of the Confident women had been dissatisfied by the level of intellectual challenge of EA courses.

Yet, as a student on a Master of Professional Enquiry programme, Debbie had been regularly engaged in course attendance. However, attendance at an award bearing University validated course was constructed differently to those offered by the EA.

Laura too had explained she had not attended EA courses for some time, as she did not think it a useful way to learn. Interestingly Kennedy's (2005) analysis of CPD models does not distinguish between award bearing and training courses, instead categorising both as potentially transmissive learning. Kennedy (2005) further points to the place of professional action in ChT (GTCS, 2009) programmes, suggesting the focus on practice may reduce opportunities for critical, intellectual engagement. Linking this subtle analysis to the standards-based model Kennedy (2005) suggests

ChT is also a standardised and a regulated model of teaching, albeit constructed within a different framework.

However, the Confident and Authoritative women were aware of the value of institutional capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2006) and so, perhaps as a consequence of their earlier academic successes, attached worth to accredited learning. As teachers the Confident women sought challenging learning from which they expected high value (Varga-Atkins, Qualter and O'Brien, 2009). Most of the ChTs, and would be ChTs, had engaged in varied accredited learning outwith their teaching qualification and before embarking on the ChT programme. Mandy, notably, had embarked on a challenging programme of learning with high value when on a career break. What the Confident and Authoritative women would make of themselves as regulated teachers I cannot be certain. Interestingly, when asked about their understandings of professional learning Laura, Mandy and Ruby had all responded by describing and conceptualising the CPD they delivered. I had to prompt them to talk about their own learning; this again demonstrated their performance of the role of leader rather than follower which reflects their positioning within the SChT (GTCS, 2009) as leaders of teachers.

Formal learning: delivering courses

It seemed strange though that while the ChTs had claimed to reject course attendance that they were entrenched in course delivery. Laura had tutored on a ChT programme, Mandy had delivered a learning opportunity in the EA and Ruby had been asked by her school management team to deliver short in-school courses. While all three had described their pedagogical approach, as beyond that of a delivery model, they had not taken into account issues of power, of control nor of the intellectual demand of their materials. So although Mandy and Ruby had had power to reject attendance at EA courses, at the same time they had engaged in an act of 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.167) in offering such learning opportunities. So although 'not for the likes of us' (Bourdieu, 1990, p.56) course attendance had been constructed by the ChTs as appropriate for Others, for Class Teachers.

However, even after engaging in reflection on pedagogy while studying for ChT status, the ChTs had been unable to move beyond known models for delivering learning. Embedded structural and socio-cultural influences operated to counter creativity in reconceptualising or designing new models of learning. While Mandy and Ruby had produced themselves as intelligent women passionate about learning, from their own descriptions it had seemed the learning they offered would not demand similar levels of engagement. In contrast what they had offered could be described as a cascade approach (Kennedy, 2005) with content confined to that which had been sanctioned by the EA.

Interestingly, Debbie had spoken at length of the benefit of keeping a learning journal to enable reflection and to progress understanding of both her teaching and her learning journey. This activity was in line with the actions of a Reflective teacher (cf. Chapter 3, p.55) and had been suggested by her tutors on one of her Master of Professional Enquiry modules. Similarly, all the Confident women had claimed that they engaged in critical reflection on their own teaching and learning. Yet they all had overlooked the importance of this as part of their learning process. Like the participants in Day's (1999, p.126) study 'no detailed consideration was given to the very principles of participation, collaboration and ownership which had characterized their own learning'.

However, Mandy had been creative in her approach to teaching for both children and other teachers as adult learners. Mandy's classroom had been the site of her CPD session. Other teachers had been able to see and explore the physical space of her classroom. She had also made use of video to show children learning in the space. Yet, although she had offered an in-depth insight into her classroom pedagogy, she had not offered the teachers who had attended her learning sessions any explanation of why her pedagogy had altered, outwith linking it to CfE's demand for active learning (SG, 2009). Indeed somewhat instrumentally, she had explained making changes at the early stage of curriculum reform had enabled her to fend off later unwanted pressure from management. Rather than an opportunity then for meaningful learning, Mandy's event could be described as a Best Practice visit (cf. Chapter 8, p.243). Teachers learning from teachers had then seemed problematic.

Even the Confident women had seemed cautious, admittedly less so than the Nice women, but nonetheless conformist and so it seems unlikely that they would offer subversive CPD radically beyond that of sanctioned educational provision. Even if they had, due to the nature of the Nice teachers it seems unlikely it that would be taken up. So while the ChTs engaged in a seemingly alternative policy discourse of the autonomous professional (cf. Chapter 2, p.32) they, like the Nice women, had complied with the demands of the discourse of the effective teacher (cf. Chapter 3, p.54). The ChTs had performed as leaders of teachers without questioning the power or the constraints of their actions. The ChTs, it had seemed, were already skillful in the game of learning (Bourdieu, 1990) and so were better at ‘talking the talk’ and so able to reproduce (Bourdieu, 1990) themselves as ChTs in the manner sanctioned by opinion shapers.

While regulation of learning was identified in formal learning, regulation of other seemingly less transmissive models had been taking place.

Formal learning: beyond courses

Kennedy (2006) stresses that there is a need to be alert to issues of power both implicit and explicit as these issues can influence, motivate and underpin policy ideologies. For the women in this study their autonomy to reconceptualise professional learning was restricted by both opinion shapers and the policy discourse.

However, teacher learning in the study authority was not restricted to course attendance. At times, teacher reading was set by HTs as part of Professional Reading Programmes. When it was regulated by school management teams, the reading became sanctioned learning, a means to advance professional knowledge within a defined framework.

In contrast, for two of the teachers, reading was constructed as Other to legitimised practices and so was tolerated rather than encouraged, “You can only put a certain amount of professional reading [on the CPD record].” Similarly, in order to carry out a learning support role Ellie had explained she had progressed her theoretical understanding of Dyslexia through professional reading. Yet she had not recorded it. Indeed, she had been somewhat apologetic about the hours she gave over to reading,

“I easily lose a few hours just reading a couple of chapters of the book each night you know.” The imposition of the performativity discourse (Ball, 2003) noticeably limited the teachers’ agency to make decisions, to construct their own understandings of useful but unregulated learning. As Nice women entrenched in discourses of effectiveness, reading simply took too long to be conceptualised as learning of value.

Communities of practice, it would seem, could offer potential as an alternative model of learning. Wenger’s (1998) social theory of learning situates learning within groups with shared interests and so suggests that there could be opportunities for teachers to create their own understandings and progress together as organic professionals (Tickle, 2001; Gramsci, 2007). When embedded in a school context as a collaborative activity (Cordingley, Bell, Rundell and Evans, 2003) and sustained over an academic year, learning as a member of a community of practice can create conditions believed to bring about successful learning for teachers. However, as I now go on to argue, for the study women, structural organisation again seemed to reduce the output of such learning to the development of technocratic skills and prescribed understandings.

Most of the teachers had explained they were members of Working Parties, formalised communities of practice organised at school level. Working Party activities took place during the time negotiated for ‘school based activities’ (SEED, 2001, p.7) as part of local Work Time Agreements (cf. Chapter 8, p.229). The teachers therefore did not account for this time on their individual CPD record. Working Party membership had been largely outwith the teachers’ control. In Lucy’s school consultation regarding group membership had not taken place, “They’re [the focus and membership of the Working Party] put up on the board.” Allocation to a group had been solely a managerial decision. Even Debbie, confident enough to speak out somewhat and make her interests known, had been forced to comply with structural demand, “I was told I had to be in this improvement group and I said I’m really, really interested in Curriculum for Excellence’, but ‘no, no, no you have to do this’.”

HTs’ compliance with an EA imposed initiative of how to bring about school improvement had confined the study teachers’ learning. Lack of time and

commitment had further compromised potential learning opportunities. Jane had explained:

I think it's quite hard actually to think of working parties as a learning experience because the time to be on a Working Party is so limited and it's not given as much credence as it should be. You just throw things at it,

while Gail had smiled, "As you may have guessed, (wry smile) I'm deeply motivated by RME!"

In many respects the membership of Working Parties and Network groups (cf. this chapter, p.216) reflects Hargreaves' (2000) notion of contrived collegiality. School management teams had organised the teachers to work together at specific times, in groups determined by school management in order to meet school improvement targets. In Jane and Gail's schools, even the outcomes that the groups were expected to achieve had been pre-determined by management.

In spite then of being contractually CPD time, it is interesting that most of the teachers had seemed to consider membership of a Working Party of little value as a learning experience. Rather than CPD time, it seems that Working Parties could be more closely aligned to distributed leadership activities (Harris, 2009). However, while it is claimed distributed leadership can advance organisational growth and transformation (Harris, 2009), shared leadership had been driven by pragmatic concerns to meet the demands of an Education Authority construction of appropriate teacher learning and to maximise output from the teachers in line with school improvement targets.

Managing teachers as human resources with increased professional responsibilities, however, may improve the cost effectiveness of a school. Auditing resources and improving the infrastructure of a curriculum area may also progress teachers' understandings of curriculum and pedagogy. However, any learning that took place in this study seemed incidental to the primary focus of managing people and processes to bring about quality improvements. This reductive, bureaucratic use of learning, although claiming to advance teacher development, had set aside the teachers' entitlement to intellectual growth. This seems unfortunate as Jane had

concluded her thinking on Working Parties with, “I think it could be really good, I think it could be a fantastic opportunity, if it [the Working Party] was given proper time.”

A further legitimised opportunity for learning for the teachers in this study had been membership of a Network. Official Networks were centrally organised at EA level for each the 8 curriculum areas (SG, 2009).

The term Network, when noting the McCrone Report and Agreement’s concern to develop a collegial workforce, may again be considered suggestive of Wenger’s notion (1998) of communities of practice. Groups of teachers came together with a shared interest, setting the agenda and exchanging information (Wenger, 1998; Fullan, 2003). However, among the study teachers, understandings of the purpose of the Networks had seemed far from that of organic knowledge creation (Tickle, 2001; Gramsci, 2007).

Some teachers had considered Network membership, like Working Party membership, as a contractual obligation imposed by school management and another obligation that they were unable to negotiate. Fay, a Network Leader, had shed light on some of the tensions inherent in mediating policy:

... you know how these things are designed and how they work out is different! How it [Networks] was designed was to be completely voluntary, so when you look at, you know the planning that they do for the year, the CPD calendar you've got your personal afternoons, then you've then got school CPD afternoons in your own school or maybe your cluster depending on how organised they were, then 5 Network afternoons that were supposed to be completely protected and up to the individual teachers whether they wanted to come along or not. Now at my first Network meeting I had people there who were saying, 'My HT sent me, what is this about?' So they hadn't made that choice at all and once they were there they enjoyed it and then they came back but that wasn't the way it necessarily presented, to some people ... Then I had a lot of teachers contacting me and saying 'I'm really interested in whatever [referring to topics covered at the meetings], I don't know anything about it but I'd like to come along but we're doing an in-school CPD that Friday so I can't come, my HT won't let me.

Fay had explained that she took time to make it clear to teachers that participation in a Network was voluntary. She considered this condition was important if the

Network was to have any success. Showing an understanding of communities of practice as a collaborative enterprise (Wenger, 1998), she thought teachers interested in setting the focus of meetings were more likely to progress relevant and embedded understandings. As she had noted, however, many of the teachers claimed they were, “sent” and therefore they expected a series of planned seminars. They thought they would attend, gather information and cascade it in line with their school management’s expectations. This, however, had not been congruent with Fay’s understanding of the form or purpose of a Network or in line with her understanding of, “leading a Network”. While she had acknowledged there were teachers who had seemed prepared to participate more actively, she thought they were in the minority.

At that point, I had pondered, “What was going on? Why did activities such as Working Parties and Networks which seemed to offer potential learning based in collaborative action and/or individual interest, seem to be limiting in relation to teacher learning?” From a theoretical perspective, learning in communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) should have offered rich dynamic opportunities for the learners to create new knowledge. Yet for these teachers, in spite of the vision of a Network leader to encourage such learning, this had not been the case.

As communities of practice are underpinned by joint enterprise (Wenger, 1998) compulsory allocation to prescribed communities was insufficient to create the conditions for collaborative learning and had even hindered some of the teachers’ learning. Agency is fundamental for successful learning within a community of practice (Kennedy, 2006). Organised Networks and Working Parties in the study authority, however, were policy initiatives concerned with teacher development. Accountability had featured in both initiatives. At school level, the activities had been highly managed. Transformation had been restricted to the agendas set by school management. So while seemingly taking account of the changing role of teachers to extend responsibility beyond the confines of the classroom, the structural nature of these activities had limited opportunities for teachers to operate beyond that of bureau professionals (Clarke and Newman, 1997) and had perpetuated their role as restricted professionals (Hoyle and John, 1995).

While these findings reflect much of what is already known regarding the limiting nature of transmissive models of CPD (Kennedy, 2005) it is also useful to examine more closely the women's understandings and actions by exploring the influence of their habitus.

The relationships between the Nice women and their school management teams, opinion shapers, were intriguing. The Nice women had seemed to adopt passive roles. Their own learning experiences had constructed them not as active knowledge producers, but as passive in the learning process. As indicated earlier, an unquestioned demand for passive learning was still often prevalent and could be seen when learning took place in the Education Centre (Fieldnotes, Nov 2007). For women, like Gail, who had preferred to remain hidden during learning (cf. this chapter, p.190), moving away from dependency, from guidance from others was unlikely to come about merely through policy demand. Bourdieu (2000) stresses the importance of taking account of the influence of social conditions. For change to be successful, it must penetrate socio-cultural norms. Creating Working Parties and Networks without acknowledging issues of power in managerial approaches at school level or beyond nor recognising women as learners with their own learning history is therefore unlikely to bring about the learning potential espoused in the literature (Wenger, 1998; Fullan, 2003; Kennedy, 2005). Furthermore, prescribing the outcomes of teacher learning was also problematic.

Although prescription had provided protection for the Nice teachers, as they did not then have to take responsibly for decisions that did not bring about the intended outcomes, it had also protected the power of opinion shapers. Prescription to an extent had mitigated uncertainty. While seemingly devolving responsibility, change had been predictable, as it had been controlled. Regulation had been maintained as change took place within a field of values set and maintained by opinion shapers (Ball, 2003), a field in which teachers had to obey the rules of the game if they were to continue to play (Bourdieu, 2000).

That said, the teachers had also implied that they engaged in other ways of learning. When the teachers had been prompted to consider if there was any difference between CPD and professional learning, most responses had been similar to

Debbie's. After pausing for a few seconds she had explained, "CPD is something I must do as a minimum where (pause), well anyway I see it as something that I must have the evidence for", while Claire, had seemed surprised by her own realisation, "Professional learning (pause), I would maybe think would be (pause) if, if I was really getting my head round something!"

As can be seen, teacher learning took a variety of forms. Much of it, however, had been regulated through prescription of the content, the model for learning and the outcomes of the learning. Yet as I now go on to illustrate, the women in this study had also engaged in non-formal learning, but as these activities were embedded in their work practices, it had been overlooked as an important model of teacher learning.

Non-formal learning: teachers learning with teachers

When the teachers had been asked to discuss what they did following attendance at a course many had paused and their response, like Claire's had often seemed questioning, "Eh, I suppose I go back and try it out in the classroom?" An awareness of the intention of CPD to bring about change (cf. Chapter 2, p.17) and the need for follow up action had been evident. However, what the follow up procedure encompassed was always transparent to the teachers without reflection. Prompting and further discussion had indicated follow-up was often not immediate. Debbie had implied there was need for further non-formal learning:

Well, often what I do is, I go into the staffroom and I say 'Hey, I was on this really good course', and everybody groans! (Laughter) But then I tell them about it and we talk about it, about what other people thought about it and what they know about it and what you could do with it and stuff and then when it came to planning I'd discuss it with my stage partner, to see what we understood about it to make sure it would fit with what we're doing.

This had appeared to be when teachers created their own meanings by building their own knowledge from transmitted knowledge. Engaging in dialogue with other teachers had often potentially progressed learning beyond that of a simple cascade model. Knowledge had been shared and new understandings had been collaboratively constructed, moving beyond unexamined knowledge transfer. For Jane, there had been an intuitive need to reflect through discussion:

I think you need to give it a wee bit of reflection. Quite often a lot of the CPD you go on, it's more than you that's been on it and you can have a wee discussion with other people and ask 'What are the implications of this for us in our school?', 'How will it effect us?', 'What bits of this can we use?' ... Because if you have the discussions then you're able to fit it in with what you want to do with that learning and you can get different ideas and different perspectives from other people because sometimes, even though they've listened to the same thing as you have, they'll have taken something quite different from it, than you have, and sometimes their slant on it helps you to understand and if you're both coming from a different angle and if you've both got separate ideas just putting the ideas together makes it better.

Yet, although many of the teachers had discussed their learning at a level that appeared to go beyond simply how to apply learning in practice, (cf. Chapter 7, p.202), the appropriateness of the content of the courses had remained uncontested.

That said, Claire had quickly recognised the importance of dialogue in her non-formal learning and had elaborated with pride:

Now I'm saying that, you've made me realise how much I do that, talk about stuff but I would have called that planning before but it's not really just planning is it? It makes me realise just how much professional learning I really do (beaming smile). I just never thought about it like that before (pause), it makes you think doesn't it?

With encouragement, most of the teachers had used the interview as a space to explore and reconstruct their understanding of teacher learning. Some began to apply their conceptualisation during their interview while many others had commented that they would apply their new understanding to their CPD record. Ellie had made contact by email the day after the interview, to share her thoughts about how she had found it interesting, "to have to think about what really drives decisions I've made about recent CPD". She had concluded reflectively, summarising thinking common among the study teachers, "I've decided to be more assertive about the validity of personal reading and informal discussions with colleagues and record them." Debbie had stated that she too would record professional dialogue as, ironically, she had encouraged the Probationer she mentored to do so but had not thought to emulate the practice! Sadly, the issue of accountability had still been perceived as an insurmountable barrier for Jane, no matter where her reflection had taken her:

[Professional dialogue] It's not valued in the same way, there's no hard evidence you can't just say I spent an hour talking about this to someone (pause), it just wouldn't be accepted.

Yet according to the teachers in this study, the non-formal, dialogic learning, which took place following formal learning, had been vital in enabling them to apply new knowledge to their own context, be that of the whole school, a stage or their own classroom. Eraut (1994) points out that as teaching is complex and locally constructed that it would be unlikely that mindless replication of new knowledge would result in good practice (cf. Chapter 8, p.243). The teachers' behaviour and thinking suggests an awareness of this. In spite of their reliance on course content to direct and advance skills, asking the teachers to puzzle over their experiences indicated they were aware that teacher learning is not a rational-linear, input-output construct. Attending courses alone had been insufficient to achieve the enhanced practices they sought. What useful teacher knowledge is, it seems, is complex and embedded in tacit knowledge and understandings of practice.

At times, the study teachers' intuitive, ongoing reflection had taken place before engaging in professional discourse with colleagues in planned non-formal learning. This reflection could be described as reactive learning (Eraut, 2004a). As it appeared to be located within the teachers' tacit knowledge, it was difficult for the teachers to discuss in isolation. At other times the dialogic events, although sometimes incidental (Fraser *et al.*, 2007) were deliberative. Teachers, like Grace, had met with colleagues (cf. this chapter, p.204) with the intention of discussing and reviewing learning with 'a clear work-based goal' (Eraut, 2004a, p.4). What was less clear, however, was whether the teachers had prioritised the learning process that led up to the application of their new understanding or their later practical application in classroom practice. If the latter was valued over the former, learning could still be reduced to a technicist, reproductive model of skills based teaching.

Yet although the formal and non-formal events had taken place separately, as the teachers had worked collaboratively during the non-formal events to interpret and internalise the knowledge gained from formal events, the interconnectedness of these activities was clear. Teacher learning had taken place in spaces and during the time that had not been specifically set aside for that purpose. Furthermore, some teachers

had intuitively drawn on alternative ways of knowing to progress their understandings (McMahon, 2004). Teacher learning had appeared to be inscribed in the teachers' everyday practices and so made it difficult for the women to separate their learning from the decisions they were making about teaching and planning. The individual nature of attendance at courses had also made it difficult for the teachers to recognise the dialogic, collaborative nature of much of their learning. The individualistic nature of competence presented in the Standards (SEED, 2005; GTCS, 2006a; 2006b, 2009) suggests learning is an individual endeavor. The invisible nature of other ways of knowing, such as learning through dialogue, along with the transitory nature of talk (Alexander, 2006) had therefore further obscured learning that lay outwith the rational, that which had taken place in the public domain. In this study, formal learning had been visible. It had been sanctioned and so 'counted'. Non-formal learning, however, often due to its invisibility did not count and so was undervalued.

It seemed then, that neither the Nice women nor the Confident women were prepared to challenge traditional, sanctioned activities and openly advance alternative constructions of teacher learning. This conservative approach signals a cause for alarm at a time when significant investment has been made in creating GLOW, a national education intranet designed for use by teachers, pupils and parents across Scotland (LTS, 2011c). The online network has been designed to make use of technology to support teaching and learning. The outcome of this aim in relation to teacher's learning in light of the findings of this study seems questionable. Online learning had barely touched the day-to-day learning experiences of the study women. Even in the context of aspirational or future conceptions of learning wikis, blogs, twitter and social networking had received no mention. However, as teachers who now teach within the confines of Primary Classrooms, a space that had in part shaped their understandings of learning and how to do girl, perhaps it is understandable that the teachers' conceptualisation of learning had been constrained by the traditional model. Making radical or even mildly innovative, alternative suggestions for how teacher learning could take place, could threaten their professional identities. For the study teachers this would be a risky proposition, as ultimately this could bring about change to their role and identities as teachers.

Summary

In this chapter, I suggested the teachers' experiences and understandings of teacher learning were constrained by policy and their gendered identities.

Space is important when considering the nature of the teachers' learning. Buildings set aside as learning spaces are a feature of the learning history of teachers from the time of early schooling. The power and control held by those in authority in learning institutions was an ongoing influence in shaping the women's constructions of what it was to be a learner. The power inscribed in official buildings as sanctioned learning spaces was difficult for the Nice women to set aside. For the Nice women learning that counted, learning that was recorded on the CPD record, was more likely to be learning that was organised at EA level and had often taken place in the Education Centre. However, the study teachers had engaged in alternative models of learning.

Intuitive collaboration with colleagues was also an important model for learning for the Nice women. However, due to the influence of the performativity discourse, such learning was seldom recorded. Rather, the complexity, the intangibility in time and space, its nature as private rather than public brought about a struggle for the Nice women when they had tried to legitimise learning that had taken place through talk. They lacked the professional authority to sanction these activities as learning. So although this model did not always fit with the women's preferred models of learning, its accountable nature made it attractive.

Interestingly though, and confirming Kennedy's (2005) assertion that it is not only the model of learning but also underpinning issues of control that must be noted, most of the teachers had experienced Working Parties and Networks as restrictive learning opportunities. Due to the regulation of these models at local levels, the teachers were positioned as passive learners (Kennedy, 2005). While the Nice women were aware of the limiting influence of such learning, their habitus as Nice women had not allowed them to create spaces where they could resist the demands of their management. Even though the collaborative nature of the models were closely aligned with how the women preferred to learn, the underlying control of the content and purpose for the learning outweighed any benefits for the women. Although the

Confident women resisted attending courses, most were highly active as course providers. In a bid to construct themselves as more than CTs, the Confident and the Authoritative women had all constructed themselves as leaders of teacher learning. Although the ChTs seemed more able to engage in explicit discussion of ways to conceptualise teacher learning, it was their role in the learning, rather than the model of learning that had been reconstructed.

Having discussed women Primary Teachers' experiences and understandings of teacher learning, in the next chapter I discuss the influence of education policy.

Chapter 8

Playing the game: negotiating policy

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I focused my discussion around selected aspects of the study women's experiences and understandings of teacher learning. Having discussed where the teacher's learning took place and the interconnectedness of learning spaces with models for teacher learning, I turn now to the influence of policy.

Outwith a number of references to CfE (SG, 2008), few teachers directly named education policies. Yet unspoken connections with policy, most specifically to the McCrone Agreement, can be found in the study teachers' day-to-day work practices and learning. The influence of policy on constructions of learning time, the way teacher knowledge was given value then transferred from one context to another and the manner in which learning was monitored are key themes across the interviews. These themes were constructed as parts of the broader theme 'playing the game'. In this chapter I now bring together the women Primary Teacher's perspectives with those of selected opinion shapers (cf. Chapter 2, p.13), members of prominent organisations representing the EA, the EIS, the GTCS, HMIe, LTS, the National CPD team, national government and academia (cf. Table 4 Opinion shaper participants p.140).

Playing the game: what's at stake?

Bourdieu reminds us, that when aiming to understand people's practices that attention must also be paid to the influence of context on a community as 'what is at stake in the struggle, is the right to impose on others a particular world view' (Bourdieu, 1990; Webb *et al.*, 2002, p.95).

At national level, rhetoric in the shape of the discourse of professionalism may arguably be found in Scottish education policy, in the McCrone Agreement and its predecessor the McCrone Report (cf. Chapter 2, p.13). However, in practice this discourse is subordinated through what can be argued as a legitimate concern to maintain standards of competence (SEED, 2005; GTCS, 2006a; 2006b, 2009) or

through external demands for accountability through quality assurance (HMIe, 2007b).

McCrone (SEED, 2001) was concerned to promote professionalism through a series of measures. However, some have been costly to implement and the economic imperative to justify expenditure on CPD in terms of impact on pupils' learning has increased salience in the present financial climate (Audit Scotland, 2006). This concern to evidence impact, the need to demonstrate measurable change following engagement in CPD, was experienced by the study teachers.

Well-educated, professional teachers could be more likely to bring about improved learning in the classroom. Yet the quality assurance gaze along with well-intentioned, though unexamined, paternalistic advice from opinion shapers (National CPD Team, 2008) alternatively can erode the need for teachers to be courageous in their interpretation of policy. For the study teachers, what it is to learn and to be a learner was being reconstructed by education policy in line with an economic imperative (cf. Chapter 7, p.195) and measures of performativity (cf. Chapter 7, p.195). Rather than intelligent engagement which promoted theoretical understandings along with growth in professional practice, a reductive notion of effective practice had come to prevail. The discourse of technical competence as understood and valued by others had grown in relevance due to a particular reading of the times.

In listening to the women and opinion shapers talk, and through critical reading of relevant policy documents, some of the struggles, tensions and disjunctions across the discourses of professionalism and performance management had become apparent. While the teachers and the opinion shapers shared a deeply held concern to improve children's education, their respective understandings of the ideologies thought necessary to bring about change/improvement had appeared to differ markedly.

The McCrone Agreement, the Standards: what's the expectation?

An intention of the McCrone Agreement was to increase teacher's professionalism. The extent to which this has been achieved can be problematised. However, that it

has brought about change to teachers' work practices and their learning seemed to be generally acknowledged by the study teachers and the opinion shapers alike.

An aspect of the reprofessionalising of teaching was to bring CPD into line with the practices of other professions (SEED, 2000). Yet for Sue, the changes had merely formalised her dedication to learning, "Well, it didn't change for me because I have always wanted to, always had the attitude that you have to keep on learning." For Sue, the policy change appeared to affirm an assigned policy construction of identity as a lifelong learner with her view of teaching as a "vocation". Sue's commitment to teaching was passionate (Day, 2004) and her commitment to learning was similarly enthusiastic. At the time of the study, Sue was studying for a Master of Education in Advanced Professional Studies in order to become a ChT as she was "still motivated to learn [and wants to] get better as a teacher".

Sue's desire for improvement, however, seemed not to have come about because of participation in the ChT programme. Initially, Sue had entered teaching with a DipPrimEd but had later undertaken study for a BEd through the Open University as she had become aware that "everyone who was coming out into teaching was coming out with a degree rather than a diploma". Sue had felt that having a degree would help maintain her professional credibility and standing as a "good teacher". However, due to the commitment of time demanded from teachers to meet simply the demands of day-to-day teaching, the preparedness of most teachers to put aside similar amounts of time for formal professional learning may not match Sue's level of commitment³⁴. Sue's consistent level of commitment to learning had surpassed that of most teachers. Her concern to maintain a high level of professional competence through professional growth was impressive.

Lucy, like most of the study teachers, claimed that she had always engaged in CPD even though previously she had not recorded her learning:

³⁴ An illustration can be found in the statistics available for women Primary Teachers undertaking the ChT Programme. In 2010 of 21 221 women Primary Teachers only 330 had achieved the status since its inception in 2002, with a further 534 undertaking study at that time.

I suppose, again I just thought it [CPD] was part of the job. And I suppose to be fair I wouldn't have recorded things like that until the McCrone Agreement came in, and the number of hours. And that was when I thought 'Right I need to start recording this' and I suppose initially in the first couple of years I didn't, but I suppose keeping time, it's not (sigh, pause), it's not what teachers do.

The McCrone Agreement, it seemed, had played a part in reconceptualising a restricted notion of professionalism.

For Lucy, being a teacher pre-McCrone had not included thinking about teaching as a group of discrete work practices nor about contractual obligations. Yet post-McCrone a conceptualisation of teaching underpinned by a concern with governance and a managerial process seemed to be in place for Lucy and many of the other study women. This conceptualisation brought notions of industrial work relations to the fore. For Lucy this had brought about conflict. The McCrone Agreement had demanded she set aside her own values and judgements about “what teachers do” in deference to an identity that could withstand external scrutiny (Ball, 2006).

Although claiming ‘to address the question of teachers’ esteem, professional autonomy and public accountability’ (SEED, 2001, p.2), in this study, the structural demand for accountability was experienced negatively. This demand had increased the control of teachers both by national and local agencies. The need for the teachers to demonstrate transparency through monitoring structures that aimed to ensure accountability had eroded their professionalism.

Jane had emphasised her awareness of the omnipotence of the managerial gaze by pointing out that teachers are judged by their actions (Ball, 2006) as ultimately, “... you are accountable for the hours you do”. Yet, encouragingly and contrary to the position adopted by some of the participants in Alexandrou’s (2008) study where some teachers still found it daunting to have to engage in professional learning, acceptance of CPD as a professional obligation appeared common among the study women. Unfortunately, however, teachers’ learning had been commodified and as it was expected to produce a return, it was subject to performance management. Rather than enhancing professionalism, its commodification had undermined the teachers’ autonomy.

Yet, although the requirement to engage in learning had been accepted among the women, an important stage prior to engaging in learning was the negotiation of how CPD time was allocated. A key objective of the McCrone Report was to review arrangements for teachers' working hours. It was claimed that this would bring about meaningful conditions of service and would reflect the status of teachers as professionals. The McCrone Agreement introduced the 35-hour working week along with 35 hours of additional time for CPD. While agreements for matters such as pay, leave entitlement, teachers' main duties etc. are agreed at a national level, Working Time Agreements (WTA) are devolved to school level. In this study, in common with the HMIe (2007c) review of the implementation of the McCrone Agreement, the outcomes of these negotiations varied widely across schools, both for the 35 hour working week and, of importance to this study, for the additional 35 hours CPD.

When asked how the arrangement for the balance of personal development with school based CPD activities was negotiated, Sue had questioned:

Do you mean the contract that they give you every year? That the EIS representative signs and the Boss signs, and it is decided on how many hours for parents' evenings and how many hours for school activities and so on?

In other schools, the teachers had met collectively with their school managements but this had also been a perplexing experience. Ellie had felt bewildered, "We were going through all the hours and I don't know about you, but there are hours and hours and hours of it!" It seemed that breaking time into discrete units was so removed from the lived, embodied experience of teachers' everyday practices that what was at stake for the women during these negotiations had become marginalised. In order that they were judged favourably by their school management, the women had therefore appeared to participate. They had played the game, as asserting themselves during decision-making processes and taking responsibility for the subsequent outcomes was at odds with their construct of what it was to be a Nice woman. Widely varied outcomes on the time set aside for learning had therefore been negotiated. However, school management had much to gain by winning and retaining power, unsurprisingly therefore, organisational demands seemed to dominate the results.

Mahony *et al.* (2004) suggest the masculinisation of teaching is evident in the adoption of managerial, regulatory models of performance that focus on the visible and measurable. They claim there is tension between the masculine nature of systems inherent in new managerialism and values more concerned with student need, disadvantage, inclusion and collegial social relationships (Blackmore, 1999). This tension had been evident in the study women's thinking as their world view appeared to be constructed more, as Gilligan (1993) found, with care. The Caring Teachers had not bound their practice by time, as Sue had explained:

... you've never really finished the job, I left today a little bit early but even if I had left three hours later I wouldn't say that I've finished everything, you go because you have to, when I go home it is just the same thing, you go because you've got to, because people need their tea, ... and you know you don't go because it's finished.

Gilligan (1993) found women often had a concern not only with human relationships but with a context of action rather than with the application of decontextualised universal principles. Tanya had demonstrated the latter when deciding what learning was needed in preparation for changes in pedagogy and planning in response to a new Nursery policy, *The Child at the centre* (HMIe, 2007a):

*We[Tanya and the Nursery Nurses] decided we'd read Child at the centre weekly a bit together ... what we would do is, we would read a bit of it when we were doing our planning and see how it applied to us and see what does it mean because I think quite a lot if it is quite broad and so what **you** think and what **I** think could be quite different and because we were doing our Care Commission return we looked at the well-being of the child in our Nursery, what it meant for us.*

(Tanya's emphasis)

Caring about children and the women's selflessness, their preparedness to put aside their own needs had influenced their practice and shaped the identities of the Nice women. Yet these women seemed to be working in a culture where to speak out, to draw attention to their needs/rights, to assert they had worth equal to that of the school and/or children's needs may have meant that they would be considered uncooperative. Such teachers could find they were labelled as "McCronies". For caring, dedicated teachers this term would have been especially offensive.

The term, “McCronies” was used occasionally among study participants with managerial responsibilities, but not at all by the teachers. The term first came to my attention while still employed as a teacher. At that time, the term had been used on separate occasions by three Head Teachers³⁵ in one-to-one meetings focused on the development of ICT across a cluster. I did not know then, and still do not know, how widespread the use of this term was. On each occasion that it had been used, it had been to make the point that teachers who looked to the McCrone Agreement to reduce their working hours were “clockwatchers” and so were neither professional nor committed to teaching.

This use of the McCrone Agreement against teachers is thought provoking, particularly in the light of Sirotnik’s (1990, cited in Fullan, 1993, p.9) challenging question:

To what extent do educators care about themselves and each other in the same way they care (or ought to care) about students?

For some of the study women, an underlying expectation of women teachers as self sacrificing workers had seemed to endure (Steedman, 1985). The managerialist discourse adds weight to this expectation:

Education bureaucracies too would encourage ‘designer teachers’ who consistently demonstrate compliance to policy imperatives and perform at high levels of efficiency and effectiveness. They must also demonstrate consistent high-quality teaching, measured by externally set performance indicators. The logic is that these teachers must be compliant employees who accept standard regimes while ensuring at the same time the learning outcomes of all students are improved (Sachs, 2005, p.10).

³⁵ Although I have no evidence to suggest these HTs were known to one another, I can speculate that two of the three will have met professionally on more than one occasion.

While this description could be used to describe the actions of many of the Nice and the Kind³⁶ women, locating the women in this study as that of entrepreneurial professionals (Sachs, 2001) would not do justice to their commitment.

Alternatively considering the Nice women's participation in the organisational culture in relation to their identity as women as learners, drew attention to the attitudes and dispositions developed prior to developing a professional identity (Webb *et al.*, 2002) as a teacher. Using Bourdieu's (1990) concept of habitus as a tool to explain how actions and decisions can be influenced and developed from our cultural history over time and shaped by one's position in a culture, allows a deeper understanding of the women's actions to be constructed. As explained earlier, the managerial discourse was difficult for the Nice women to resist, as it appeared to equip the women with the skills required to provide a high standard of education for children. Adopting an identity as an activist professional (Sachs, 2001) would have been a 'riskier' proposition for the Nice women as this identity is less constrained by rules and brings an expectation of a preparedness to embrace uncertainty. For women like Jane, who had already experienced turmoil with learning (cf. Chapter 6, p.185), and Claire, for whom the path into teaching had not been smooth (cf. Chapter 6, p.167), producing themselves in opposition to the work they enjoyed, work they were committed to, perhaps understandably would have been problematic. The legitimacy of the women's learning thus became entrenched in the policy discourse of effectiveness even though this discourse exploited their commitment to caring about children, and reduced their authority to make decisions about their own learning.

Perhaps unsurprisingly Jane, like others in this and McDonald's study (2001, p.34), had 'little faith' that during the work time negotiations, anything other than the interest of the school would be served. Jane had stressed her CPD had to include membership of a Working Party:

³⁶ As indicated previously, Kind women are conceptualised firstly as Nice women and so unless I indicate to the contrary reference to Nice women from here on includes Kind women.

... the thing is you don't even have control over which working party you're doing, nobody says to you 'Which working party would you like to be on?' you just get 'You are on this working party whether you like it or not'.

Citing the frequent return to developing writing as a school improvement plan aim, Jane had explained the purpose for Working Parties in her school, was often to bring new staff into line with whichever approach was being adopted at that time.

In contrast, Fay, a Confident woman, had suggested her colleagues were very protective of their 35 hours CPD and had believed that no time should be given to collegiate activities. Rather, they had considered the 35 hours a personal allowance only to be used for learning of their choice.

Against these perhaps extreme positions, HMIE (2007c, p.3) report that in general schools have 'given teachers more ownership of their development time'. So although policy may seem unproblematically standardised at national level, implementation is located within local power structures and demands at meso and micro levels (Maton, 2005), as people, with cultural and social histories and identities, enact policy. While policy may allow opinion shapers to make known their preferred values, policy is then subject to interpretation. What had seemed unclear in this study was whether it was due to confusion regarding the negotiation process that some teachers, like Daisy in her approach to collaborative learning (cf. Chapter 6, p.190), had simply withdrawn from decision-making or if as Nice women, these teachers had trusted others to make the decisions for them.

One proposition that could advance understanding of the women's hesitancy in the WTA negotiations could be to suggest that the women had no agency when confronted with structural demands. However, it may not have been the women's agency to act that was challenged. Rather, that their agency had been constrained by their habitus; their habitus may have restrained their ability to find a space in which they could engage in alternative thinking. As the Nice women were concerned to do a good job it would have been unthinkable to challenge trusted others and risk being judged unfavourably and so the women had seemed to consider such action as 'not for the likes of us' (Bourdieu, 1990, p.56).

Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of habitus had allowed a deeper, more nuanced analysis. Although the women seemed to produce themselves in a manner that suggested they had participated in the negotiations, their habitus had made bold or self-interested negotiation unthinkable. Trust along with a compelling desire to be "a good teacher", left the women, who had allegedly been given professional status through the McCrone Agreement, vulnerable to institutional and structural demands. Putting in place a policy 'to improve the professional conditions of service' (SEED, 2001, p.1) was insufficient to bring about rapid change to embodied identities. The durability of habitus (cf. Chapter 4, p.112) requires change to take place over time, not only at policy level but also social and cultural levels. So unable to make decisions uninfluenced by habitus (Webb *et al.*, 2002) the Nice women had gone along with the demands of more powerful others. As Bourdieu (1990) explains, the dominated often rely on official spokespersons to represent them. The perspectives then of the 'authorised representatives' (Webb *et al.*, 2002, p.99) thus became the legitimatised, dominant discourse.

The opinion shapers had all agreed that CPD should be:

an appropriate balance of personal professional, ... small scale school based activities ... based on an assessment of individual need taking account of school, local and national priorities

(SEED, 2001, p.7).

However, with regard to the balance, the National CPD Co-ordinator, the HM Inspector, and the CPD QIO along with the HTs interviewed, had all agreed school needs should take precedence over individual CPD needs. So if a teacher wanted to engage in learning that was outwith the immediate targets of the school improvement plan that it was reasonable for a Head Teacher to say, as the HM Inspector had explained that the learning was not appropriate, "not for now".

In spite of the rhetoric of professional autonomy, organisational needs, the needs of a school and its pupils outweighed the individual entitlement of teachers to advance their learning as individuals. The HM Inspector had mediated such thinking somewhat by drawing attention to the importance of a school's context. The HM

Inspector had claimed diversity in the arrangements for CPD was paramount as what may be appropriate to bring about improvement in one school may not be appropriate for another. The CPD QIO had also stressed that HTs knew their schools and what needed to be done and so the power to sanction, to control what was deemed appropriate CPD should rest with HTs.

Alternatively, the GTCS Director and the EIS ULR Co-ordinator has been concerned with teachers' needs in the context of career growth and opportunities for personal advancement. While the GTCS Director had been clear that:

teachers should not just be ploughing their own furrow [that personalised learning was important as] the standard really is about the individual teacher.

In the same way that *HIGOS* (HMIe, 2007b) can guide collective improvement at school level, the Standards can guide teacher growth at an individual level. The GTCS Director had further explained that wider notions of competence and teacher growth could also be progressed through the Standards:

It can allow you to move things forward. ... it's also possible through revisions of standards to move the bar up! ... the expectations of teachers should be continuing to rise and you can do that subtly within standards. You can highlight the things that are important. Highlight the things that are becoming more important. You can place a greater expectation on the person meeting that standard in a kind of slow but subtle way you can move the system forward.

Yet, although the McCrone Agreement (2001, p.7) states CPD should be a balance between personal and professional need, the thinking of the EIS and the GCTS officials had seemed marginalised. The aim of CPD to bring about teacher development within the context of a school's improvement agenda had seemed to dominate the teachers' experiences in this study. In order that Primary Schools as organisations could improve and display higher quality, the teachers had been required to produce themselves in a standardised manner. The study teachers' individual needs had increasingly been subordinated to school demands and EA initiatives and so gaining satisfaction from learning had been difficult to achieve (cf. Chapter 7, p.215). Taking account of the emotional domain, the Professor of Education had stressed the importance of the positive influence on teacher agency

when that, “deep personal reward from good CPD” is experienced by teachers. Yet, although the HM Inspector had claimed diversity was required to meet the needs of all schools, this had not seemed to imply that diversity was necessarily to be thought of as a good. Rather, that personal reward had less value than school improvement. So while on the *Journey to Excellence* (HMIe, 2007b), sometimes imperfect solutions would have to be accepted until they could be improved upon.

The intention of some of the opinion shapers to construct teacher learning as a standardised construct had seemed problematic when taking account of the ‘open-endedness’ (MacDonald, 2001, p.40) of teachers’ remit and the complexity of learning in the workplace (Eraut, 2000c). Of further note had been the disparity between the teachers and the opinion shapers’ perspectives on the Standards for Initial Teacher Education (GTCS, 2006b), for Full Registration (GTCS, 2006a) and for Chartered Teacher (GTCS, 2009), which I refer to collectively as the Standards from here on.

Except for Daisy and Jill, who at the time of the study were both Probationers and Grace, who was in her first year of teaching, the teachers despite prompting had made scant reference to the Standards that govern teacher competence in Scotland.

In order to map their CPD then complete the online profile that operates as a CPD record, Daisy and Jill had used the SFR to monitor their respective progress. Daisy had explained how the profile linked to the SITE and to the SFR:

It’s got each of the standards and then it’s got local or school or personal CPD ... I have recorded some of it and so I have recorded the things that have turned out to be useful but not everything is.

Grace had also reflected on, “hav[ing] to meet the standard” as a student teacher, while Daisy had expanded on the process:

when I was at University they had what they called Benchmarks, that you have to achieve to get your degree and the Benchmarks are basically the Standard for Full Registration ... and so it is very much well you have done this part and this and this but you still have to work on this and this and it follows on naturally.

While these new entrants to the profession were aware of the SITE and the SFR, they had conceptualised them as competences; as baseline indicators that they had to meet. They had not seemed aware that the Standards could also be thought of as a tool to structure learning that would continue far beyond initial registration.

The notion of the Standards as a baseline had also seemed to prevail during a CPD session providing guidance for Probationer supporters. The teacher leading the session had succinctly introduced the course stating she was there with an aim of making clear, “what is expected of you as a mentor”. During this course, the three aspects of professional development in the SFR had been presented as a list of, “strands”, of outcomes to be achieved in order to gain full registration. In order that Probationers could accomplish this, a rather controlling approach to mentoring had been suggested. In line with the improvement discourse, a deficit discourse of Probationers, as not yet a teacher had dominated. This discourse was not supportive of what Probationers already knew. Finding what they did not know, and more importantly assessing what they could not yet do, had seemed more important than acknowledging the theoretical knowledge gained from up to four years of study in a University. This point is important and one which I discuss further in Chapter 9 (p.163). The course delegates, the would-be-mentors, had been advised to carry out systematic monitoring and observation linked to specific targets. Upon completion of each professional action and subsequent information upload to the online profile, the delegates had been instructed that they should move on to the next outcome. A technical, logical perspective which positioned teaching as a series of observable actions had dominated (cf. Chapter 2, p.28). That said, the would-be-mentors had also been warned they too would be subject to scrutiny as the online profiles would be monitored by a QIO to ensure they were kept up-to-date (cf. Chapter 2, p.38).

While the earliest stages of teachers’ learning had been structured around the SFR, the policy appeared to have less prominence in the later stages of teachers’ careers. This was surprising as the advice set out in policy guidance regarding the PRD process (SEED, 2002b, p.10-11) indicates:

Three national teaching standards are being designed to provide coherence and progression within CPD. As part of the professional review and development process, teachers can seek support to progress or enhance their professional skills and abilities through activity related to these national standards.

In line with the requirements of the McCrone Agreement, the study teachers had claimed to engage in the PRD process annually and keep a CPD record. However, in the main their records had noted CPD activities following completion, rather than acting as a strategic planning tool which had been developed during the PRD. While learning based on school targets had provided some strategic coherence, individual learning had been more spontaneous. Overall, the PRD process had been experienced as a bureaucratic process which, like the WTA negotiation, made little connection with the women's entitlement to learn. Debbie had explained:

I think, one of the things most schools have is the Staff Review and Development or whatever it is they call it now. I don't find it particularly useful, emm basically I think it is a ticky box exercise.

While, Gail had experienced the meeting as performance appraisal:

Yea. I mean I just find things like that [self evaluation against the SFR] really, really difficult and to be honest I look for them [management] to tell me what is wrong and when you're asked what is wrong, well I just think I don't know! You know tell me and I'll do it!

The opinion shapers had conceded that nationally the PRD process was carried out neither well nor consistently. Yet at the same time, they had optimistically referred to the potential of the Standards as tools that could, when used well, helpfully guide teachers' learning and growth. However, the Professor of Education had taken time to stress societal influences and the temporal nature of the Standards as "simply tools that are always ideologically inscribed with a construction of practice and a construction of what it means to be a professional". The Professor had added though the Standards had evolved and aimed to be:

developmental tools. ... their strength really lies as a developmental tool that allows people to look at their own practice, to develop their own practice. But ultimately [teachers must] interrogate them, the Standards themselves. That they [teachers] dissect them in some ways.

As can be seen in the increased detail of guidance provided for teachers (GTCS, 2006a; 2006b; National CPD Team, 2008, 2009), the extent to which some of the organisations represented by the opinion shapers shared the Professor's belief that teachers are capable of dissecting policy for themselves had seemed questionable.

Strongly stated though, by some of the opinion shapers, had been an awareness of the potential for a disaggregated notion of what it is to be a teacher when using competence-based standards. The Professor of Education had warned that in the absence of dialogic interrogation simply reviewing performance against standards "becomes a deeply reductive activity". Yet, when taking into account ownership, it was interestingly the GTCS Director who had candidly acknowledged that the Standards needed to become more widely known and understood. The Director had recounted an invitation to make the Standards (SEED, 2005; GTCS, 2006a; 2006b; GTCS, 2009) and their purpose known to a group of teachers. Although the teachers' initial reactions had ranged from disinterest to feelings of threat, finally some teachers had developed an understanding that the Standards indeed, "encapsulated what they did and what it meant to be a teacher".

In contrast, the National CPD Co-ordinator had believed that the Standards were widely known and had stressed that "No-one is coming to the Standards cold." The importance of the Standards had also been stressed by the CPD QIO. Used in conjunction with the *Standards Continuum* (National CPD Team, 2005) the QIO thought that the two came together to provide "a great tool to get teachers to evaluate where they are".

So while policy, in the shape of the McCrone Agreement and the Standards, may have brought about change to teachers' learning, a lack of shared understanding of the nature of professional learning and its place in bringing about improvement in children's learning brought competing discourses to the fore.

For the women Primary Teachers their own learning had appeared to be positioned as an integral aspect of their work which was being able to teach well. The notion of deconstructing teaching into discrete areas of work practices either to meet a contractual obligation, to take advantage of a professional entitlement to learn or to

bring about professional growth had seemed to run parallel to their commitment to teach. Caring about children and their needs had motivated the study teachers to learn. The lived experience, the interwovenness of learning and daily practice had been neither theorised nor formalised. This contrasted with the formal, structural understandings of teaching and teacher learning which had been adopted by many of the opinion shapers. Outwith the Professor of Education, the EIS ULR Co-ordinator and to an extent the GTCS Director, putting in place systems which could audit improvement in children's learning had been paramount for some of the opinion shapers. However, positioning teacher learning only as a means to bring about high quality education as a right of all children had created tensions. Ball (2006, p.693) claims performativity 'increasingly inform[s] and deform[s] our practice'. It seemed that what was now at stake was how children's learning could be improved without setting aside the rights and needs of the Nice women without devaluing the valuable contribution they make to education along with how to ensure their right to professional growth.

Having highlighted some of the tensions among the teachers and the opinion shapers perspectives on how to mediate the expectations of the McCrone Agreement and the Standards, I turn now to discuss the notion of 'good practice'. Good practice had been mentioned by both the teachers and the opinion shapers. However, the more good practice was mentioned, the more it had seemed there was a need to problematise the commonsenseness of the discourse, to question whose interests had good practice been serving.

Bringing about improvement: good practice?

The imperative to bring about improvement has been a forceful discourse in Scottish education policy (HMIe, 2006, 2007b). The purpose constructed by the McCrone Agreement for teachers in the process of change is that they are 'to deliver our shared objective of a world class education service which will fit our children well for the 21st century' (SEED, 2001, p.1). In response to Scotland's National Debate on Education (SEED, 2003b), the key priorities summarised by the then Labour Executive stress the necessity of meeting each child's individual needs. That 'children and young people should have a broad education and develop the skills to

be active citizens of a modern Scotland' (SEED, 2003b, p.3). In part, a way to bring this about was to strengthen the role of school inspection so 'more support is given to schools and authorities to meet their plans and targets' (SEED, 2003b, p.6).

As a means to bring about improvement, HMIE set out to identify good practice during their inspections (HMIE, 2011a). Dissemination of selected examples of teaching and learning rated highly by HMIE then takes place in the shape of development resources. Online publication of learning and teaching improvement guides, titled for example *Promotion of active learning* together with video clips demonstrating active learning in varied curriculum contexts (HMIE, 2011c), have been made available to teachers. These, allegedly evidence based (HMIE, 2009b), resources demonstrate how to emulate improvement in classroom practice. The LTS website similarly makes use of texts and videos to illustrate good practice (LTS, 2011b). The notion of sharing good practice has become a dominant and legitimised form of learning within the school improvement discourse in Scotland.

Policy rhetoric constructs good practice as instances of teaching and learning judged by HMIE to exemplify the indicators of performance specified by HMIE in *HIGIOS* (HMIE, 2007b). The influence of this HMIE discourse of good practice could be seen in the study teachers' conceptualisations of improved teaching. However, rather than extending practice, this discourse had again limited the Nice women's practice and professionalism. In a concern to perform teaching 'correctly' the Nice women had been reluctant to mobilise, recognise or even thinkingly construct alternative notions of good teaching if they conflicted with those that were officially legitimised. Although disseminating examples of good practice is positioned as a means to provide assistance and support, the power inscribed in the highly disseminated constructions had made it difficult for the Nice women to critically interrogate the examples.

A number of the study teachers had referred directly to the always-present tension that their school could be subject to inspection. Ellie had drawn attention to her unease preceding an upcoming EA review which was to be carried out by a QIO:

there is a review coming and maybe an inspection and there is a lot of pressure to be able to say “Well I’ve done this and I’ve done this” and all the records are up to date and it is very much about the paperwork and crossing the ts and dotting the is at the moment and so I feel I’ve got to make sure with the CPD in case [my HT] gets asked ‘Well what are you doing with your staff?’ ‘What do you do?’ so if I get asked I want to be able to say [assertively] ‘Dah, dah, dah!’

(Ellie’s emphasis)

Clare too had alluded to the prospect of accountability during inspection as, “you never know who might want to look at it [her CPD record]”. Unsurprisingly as part of readiness for inspection, there was a concern among the Nice women to know what would be expected during the inspection process. Examining then collating the detail of the key strengths from other schools’ recently published inspection reports had been explained by the School CPD Co-ordinator as one means of gauging HMIe’s current construction of quality and effectiveness. Similarly, HMIe had brought together eight case studies describing the actions that schools identified as having key weaknesses should carry out, in order to progress the quality of their provision (HMIe, 2009a). Reading about outcomes from school inspection was therefore one means of preparation for improvement; another was observing already sanctioned good practice.

HMIe (2009a, p.4) claim that ‘when teachers learn from and with each other this can lead to better outcomes for learners’. Many HMIe advise that good practice visits are an important stimulus when a school is aiming to bring about improvement (HMIe, 2009b). Good practice, however, is commodified and given power via print, with multimedia adding weight to the over-simplified technicist discourse. LTS’s web site is also populated with an abundance of video clips (LTS, 2011b) visually exemplifying what teachers should do when performing good practice. Legitimised as an appropriate way to learn by HMIe and LTS, opinion shapers who have prominence and power both in and over the lives of teachers, the benefits of observing good practice were unsurprisingly mentioned by many of the study teachers. Perhaps in part due to the unexamined credibility and reputation of these opinion shapers, perhaps due to the power they hold, good practice had become a commonsense good. In short, knowledge produced by these organisations although

conceptualised within narrow boundaries had become powerful in shaping many of the teachers' thinking of how to bring about change.

Without exception, the study women had enthused that observation of best practice was a valuable model for learning. Jill, a Probationer at the time of the study, had explained that earlier that day she had observed good practice by visiting another school to observe Early Intervention³⁷. The, "visits" had been organised following discussions with her mentor:

I think that I'm beginning to find my feet. I want to go and visit the other stages as well, and I've started to go and see other schools, so I haven't observed as much as I'd like to, but it's something I definitely feel is needed for me to grow, because obviously at this stage being in these four walls is very good but unless I see other teachers it's going to get a bit stale.

Tanya too had been keen for the Probationer she mentored to be out:

... observing the practice [because] we don't even have stage partners so it is the best practice that I have been pushing out to her, I say "So what was best practice about that? What wasn't?" So, it is getting her to be critical sometimes of her own teaching and of other people's teaching.

Good and best are terms that, if left unexamined, can indicate virtuous qualities worthy of respect. When used to describe practice, the phrase suggests an admirable notion of teaching to be sought after, perhaps even emulated, as after all, there can few members of any workforce who knowingly aim to engage in bad or worst practice. Yet although the discourse of 'good', 'best' and now, signalling increased expectation, 'excellent' (HMIe, 2007b), has become embedded in Scottish education policy, less debated among teachers were the meanings and the power inscribed in these seemingly positive constructs.

Although the teachers in this study engaged often in the 'best practice' discourse (HMIe, 2007b), they had also used the more tempered term of, "observing" to describe the phenomenon. That the essence of quality teaching was observable by other teachers seemed to be an unquestioned assumption. Equally unproblematised

³⁷ Early Intervention is a Literacy strategy which aims to intervene and improve the chances for children who may have had little experience of Literacy pre-school.

was that teachers all had the skill to engage in worthwhile observations. This seemed to be a taken-for-granted ability. Rather than a highly skilful activity in which the observer's presence influences what is observed, and that this further influences their interpretation and construction of meaning (Wolcott, 2001), a passive model of merely on-looking had been suggested. The teachers had seemed to position themselves as objective observers who could remain detached and able to 'see' and gather information about complex social activities rationally and logically. The reality of good classroom practice would then be revealed to them. Characterised by a scientific paradigm with a positivist epistemology, the notion of knowledge transfer of practice from one setting to another had not been contested by the teachers.

Both Probationers had commented that they had, "observed good practice [and been on] good practice visits". While Jane had located the act of observing Nursery management as her aim during the visits that she had made to other Nurseries:

I did a lot of observations in Nursery because it was completely new and at first it was completely general to see the general running of a Nursery to see the kind of activities they were doing.

Gail in her understanding of good practice had brought together observing, with being observed, "You know, when you get something round for the Probationers to say what can they come and observe, what you would say are your strengths." Qualified teachers had been encouraged in some schools not only to engage in good practice visits, but also to be subject to observation for this aim. The study teachers had mainly agreed that observations of good practice were useful, Jane's thinking had exemplified this, "It [observation] is a really good way to learn, to see how somebody else teaches something you will have to do." However, Mandy, notably one of the Confident women, had critically reflected on a visit that she had made concluding unusually, "Well to be honest, we didn't see what we thought we would. Although it was described as best practice, it wasn't what we were looking for." With this exception, the women had appeared to take what they saw during these visits as truths of good practice. They had not appeared to consider the variability or complexity of local contexts nor whose version of good practice was demonstrated, who legitimised it nor why (Coffield and Edward, 2009). They had seemed further

unaware that rather than simply being different, the model of best practice implies that their existing practice was Other, deficit.

Mandy's visit had been to a school where the HT had built her school's reputation as a centre of best practice, a position that had been validated by a highly successful HMIe inspection. Mandy's visit had taken place due to a recommendation from a QIO. Other best practice visits had appeared to be organised on a reciprocal basis among HTs. Within schools, visits had been based on the professional judgements of teachers. However, I had pondered the notion of self-identification in good practice and whether such a judgement would be always be supported by a HT. It had seemed unlikely that a HT would sanction observation of practice that they did not deem to be good.

The worth of this HMIe legitimised version of teachers learning from teachers was thus questioned as such widely ranging criteria had been used to define best practice, while more practical issues such as the complexity of engaging in observation, had been overlooked. Even the organisation involved in releasing teachers from their own teaching responsibilities to engage in observation was of significance, yet overlooked, particularly when the observation had taken place in another school.

With time management in mind, the visits had often been scheduled to allow the teachers to travel during break-times. A consequence of this was that no time was available for the participants to engage in discussion following the observation. Although this was agreed among the teachers as less than ideal, it was at the same time accepted by many. Rather than being acknowledged as a troubling barrier to learning, Jill had shrugged off the lack of dialogue with, "Well that's just how it is." Lack of adequate time to engage in discussion following the observation, however, had operated to reduce further any learning that may have taken following the experience. As Eraut (2004b, p.13) explains transferring knowledge takes place through a complex process of learning as 'performance in the workplace typically involves the integration of several different forms of knowledge and skills'.

Yet the then HM Senior Chief Inspector concludes his foreword in a review of how schools can get better by urging:

all staff in schools and education authorities to consider the positive examples in this report and to use them as a guide and stimulus to improvement in their own work

(HMIe, 2009a, p.ii).

This implies constructions of teaching and learning should be defined by policy rather than policy being influenced by teaching and learning (Coffield and Edward, 2009). The report provides examples of good practice and like the observations of the teachers; they are presented unproblematically as though a shared consensus and understanding already exists of good quality learning. A certainty then follows that practice can be compared in order that good practice can be identified with ease then replicated. Unproblematised, however, is how the transfer of such practice, should it exist, can take place and the implication that learning should be located with an acquisition model of learning (Coffield and Edward, 2009). Even if the proposition of good practice is accepted, transferring what is observed from one context to another is not straightforward and requires relationships between teachers and common understandings between the institutions which should be constructed together over time (Fielding *et al.*, 2005). Observing good practice requires far more than seeing then doing. In the absence of a dialogue of how good practice has come about and an understanding of its nature as socially constructed and situated, it seems less likely that good practice can bring about either desirable or sustained change (cf. Chapter 6, p.176).

However, good practice may operate to stimulate and improve some teachers' practice, yet equally, good practice, as can be seen in the teachers' comments, can operate to exclude consideration of alternative practices. Although this may be an unintended consequence (Alexander, 1997), once sanctioned as good practice, not only is the phenomenon set out as observable and universally applicable but there is also an implication that replication of good practice will inevitably lead to improvement.

Although the HM Inspector and many of the HMIe publications insist "context" is important they also claim 'there is no single formula' (HMIe, 2009b, p.i). However, as discussed previously, for some of the women in this study the reductive discourse has been particularly difficult to resist. As Nice women, they were more likely to

adopt an identity where they ‘do policy’. In positioning themselves as consumers, policy had come to determine their practice. Their aim was to be ‘good’ teachers and so, from an unexamined standpoint, they had produced themselves in relation to good practice. Evidenced (HMIe, 2009b) and approved by opinion shapers, good practice had been seen as synonymous with being a good teacher. Pragmatically, most of the teachers know of, and many will have experienced, the power that HMIe has in the lives of teachers. The Nice women had particularly seemed prepared to accept knowledge that had been commodified by others. They had not seemed willing or, perhaps due to their habitus, were unable to mobilise the knowledge they had regarding quality teaching and learning. However, by replicating practice based on judgements of quality made by others, notably government executive agencies, the women again had been complicit in restricting their own autonomy to transform their practice. The rational and logical had come to dominate reductive constructions of normative ‘good practice’.

Perhaps of even more importance was that at times, the teachers had been embarking on good practice visits not with the intention of engaging in knowledge exchange, and not even with the intention of improving children’s learning; rather, the women had gone to see what was happening in other schools so they could ‘do’ best practice when their school was inspected. The influence of surveillance from HMIe was so omnipresent, and the prospect of inspection so overwhelming, that some of the teachers had been ‘learning to the test’. This aim had not been underpinned by a concern with improvement but with effectiveness. The women had been concerned to ensure that they were prepared to be rated well against quality indicators which purportedly measure how well a school (HMIe, 2007b) and its teachers are performing (Alexander, 1997).

However, it was not only the gaze of HMIe that had influenced the teachers’ practice and learning; the teachers’ learning has also been subject to internal scrutiny.

Evaluating professional learning: monitoring change or measuring impact?

Economic pressure may be restricting opportunities for teachers to learn (cf. Chapter 7, p.195). Entry to the ChT scheme was to be frozen (Hepburn, 2011) (cf. Postscript,

p.283). At a time of austerity, the outcome of any investment in teacher learning will likely be subject to increased scrutiny. Yet financial prudence should not shape opportunities for teachers to advance their learning nor should it shape the measures used to evaluate their learning. Value for money is only one measure of evaluation. The nature and influence of evaluation is complex and worthy of more consideration than an input/output model focused on short-term observable change.

In 2006 Audit Scotland, the parliamentary organisation responsible for auditing public expenditure reported on spending in relation to the implementation of the McCrone Agreement (Audit Scotland, 2006). Overall, the report suggests that although the implementation of the McCrone Agreement has brought about change, that due to the lack of 'clear outcome measures. This makes it difficult to form definitive judgements on its overall impact' (Audit Scotland, 2006, p.8). The report claims that had outcome measures been specified in a number of areas including 'impact on educational attainment [and] improvements in classroom practice [that] definitive judgements' (Audit Scotland, 2006, p.8) could have been made. The report therefore recommends:

performance measurement arrangements need to be strengthened to demonstrate that the Agreement has delivered value for money and is improving education in Scotland
(Audit Scotland, 2006, p.32).

Furthermore that:

The Scottish Executive, and others, should ensure that recognised best practice is more consistently applied across the education sector
(Audit Scotland, 2006, p.33).

It is reasonable though, that within a framework that is fair both to teachers and to the public, that some account is made of public expenditure (Winch, 1997).

However, when tracing the influence of CPD and other initiatives designed to bring about change in education, complex constructs such as the nature of knowledge and knowledge transfer (Eraut, 1994, 2004a) have to be taken account of.

In the Audit Scotland report (2006) the seemingly logical but simple correlation between inputs and outputs suggests a reductive, instrumental notion of evaluation in terms of impact. Short-term effectiveness measures seem to be advocated in preference to longer-term qualitative measures. Such utilitarian measures which aim to improve outcomes (Coldwell and Simkins, 2011) may be unlikely to capture the complexity of either learning or teaching and so then may be of little use in indicating change of worth.

Emphasising the variation in the focus and purpose of evaluation, Guskey's (2000) widely known model for evaluating professional development comprises five levels (cf. Chapter 3, p.71). Guskey (2000) claims the levels are interconnected hierarchically. So although evaluation of professional development can take place at different levels 'success at one level is necessary for success at the levels that follow' (Guskey, 2000, p.78). Coldwell and Simkins (2011), however, argue the levels are not entirely correlated, rather that level 3 is a set of conditions necessary for the previous stages to lead to those that follow.

In listening to the women Primary teachers and the selected opinion shapers talk, variation in ideological understandings of the purposes for evaluating teacher learning had been in play. As the professional habitus of teachers and opinion shapers is likely to bring about different world views (Bourdieu, 1990) variation perhaps should be expected in:

what should be the focus of evaluation; how should these aspects be investigated; and whose views should count in the valuations

(Coldwell and Simkins, 2011, p.153).

When asked to talk about a professional learning opportunity that they had found was a particularly good learning experience, the teachers had focused generally on the utility of the content. Gail had proposed that a good learning experience was "something that you then come back and think 'well I can use this'." Jane, unusually, had not given a general description but had referred to a specific course that she attended around 10 years previously, "I think my best learning experience was the ITQ [Infant Teacher Qualification] undoubtedly." She had gone on to

explain that she was still guided by the principles of early years teaching as the course had “completely impacted” her teaching.

What was surprising, however, was that neither of the women, nor any of the other teacher participants, had seemed to be aware of the extent to which their course attendance was monitored by management at either their school or at authority level. This ability for hidden scrutiny of learning had far-reaching implications for the teachers in relation to performance management.

In the study authority, teachers who wished to attend courses did so via an online system. They were able to browse an online catalogue, which provided details of the course name, a short summary of the content along with an indication of the target audience. Having made their choice, the teachers were then able to reserve places on the courses. Yet although the teachers themselves appeared to book places, the request had to be sanctioned by the school CPD Co-ordinator before it was submitted to the authority. The teachers had presented course choice as a straightforward process; they browsed, selected and then later attended. However, the school CPD Co-ordinator had explained in her school this would not always happen. She scrutinised teachers’ requests with budgetary constraints, school and teachers’ needs in mind. If she considered teachers’ needs could be met elsewhere, perhaps through observation of good practice, then a course request could be denied thus saving money to be spent elsewhere.

The school CPD Co-ordinator had demonstrated to me other areas of the online system that the teachers did not have the system privileges to access. From this extensive online database, comprehensive reports could be produced which listed teachers’ course attendance dating back a number of years to when the system had been implemented. As it was not evident from the content that teachers were able to view, it seems that they would have been unaware of this capability. Indeed, Gail had showed me notations in her diary recording course attendance. Tanya had referred to the CPD record as “that sheet that you always lose” and Mandy had emailed me a copy of her CPD record in a table that she had generated. Her record had comprised of a simple grid listing the title of courses that she had attended, the date and their duration. However, if the women had known of the electronic

capability they likely would have explained their records in relation to such a printed report. None had. So while the women were conscientious in ensuring they kept records accounting for their time, they had appeared not to be aware of the level of scrutiny that their learning was subject to, nor of the subsequent implications from the monitoring. I now therefore discuss the theme ‘what counts as CPD’.

The National CPD Co-ordinator had asserted that when the 35 hours of CPD was first introduced that, “People were obsessed with what counted and we don’t get that anymore. People have moved well away from that”. Yet, although the Confident women had been somewhat prepared to reconstruct ‘what counts as CPD’, ‘what was recorded’ by CTs was dominated by course attendance (cf. Chapter 7, p.195).

However, like the school CPD Co-ordinator and the HTs, the CPD QIO had stressed that it did not matter what teachers wrote in their CPD record. When she went to observe, to monitor a teacher’s performance, she would review their course attendance in advance and so knew of areas where she expected to see evidence of “impact”.

Like good practice, impact was often constructed as an uncontested good by the opinion shapers at EA and school level and HMIE at a national level. Impact seemed to be constructed as synonymous with added value. Rejecting the content of a course, therefore, seemed not to be a choice available to the study teachers as a logical consequence of engaging in CPD was evident change. Furthermore, for the school management teams and the QIOs there had been a belief that timely evidence of progress should take place that would be identifiable and observable.

Tara, a HT, had stressed that teachers’ CPD should be evidenced by goals and results. Tara seemed to believe in the quality assurance perspective of HMIE, a perspective that the study teachers had come to live with (cf. this chapter, p.228). Tara expected to see direct, observable links between teacher learning and change in performance in the classroom, between inputs and outputs. Yet the application of new knowledge takes place in stages. It is not necessarily a linear process and may take a lot longer than is often expected (Eraut, 2011). However, Tara had explained:

... if you are a teacher it's about improving your understanding of teaching and learning but it's not just an academic exercise, it has to actually impact on the classroom.

Tara had advanced her point strongly. Yet like the National CPD Co-ordinator, Tara had seemed, on the one hand, to hold a broader construction of forms of learning, “So any kind of CPD or discussion or dialogue, you know any kind of involvement that results in an improvement in the classroom”, but on the other hand, had stressed that all learning should have short term “impact” and that this was of the utmost importance. The trackability of learning from courses was an appealing form of learning for Tara as she had explained:

... so a teacher could have come out of a CPD course having raised her³⁸ understanding of something ... but if [the course is for P7] and [she] is teaching P1s and has no intention of going to the upper school it is not really going to have a direct impact

However, the need for “impact” had been more prevalent among managers than the teachers in this study and had seemed similar in nature to the discourse advanced by HMIE (2007c, 2009a) and Audit Scotland (Audit Scotland, 2006). The HM Inspector had stressed that there had to be impact from CPD, that teachers as reflective practitioners should be able to talk about impact as this was what should inform their CPD decisions. Like CPD, the HM inspector had suggested that evaluation should be intentional and results or goal driven (cf. Chapter 3, p.71).

Although evaluation of intentional learning may be achievable in the positivist manner proposed by Guskey (2000) when the outcomes of the learning are identifiable and measureable, how to engage in systematic evaluation when learning (Eraut, 2000c) and CPD themselves are so complex (cf. Chapter 7, p.203) that change may not be apparent seemed problematic, even more so when learning may only have relevance over time.

Rigorous, planned, systematic, deliberative evaluation of teacher learning was not generally mentioned by the teachers in this study. Measuring impact in this way had not seemed to fit with the study women's understandings of their learning and

³⁸ The teaching staff in Tara's school were all women.

teaching as complex interrelated phenomena. Unsurprisingly then, the teachers' evaluation practices had varied and had seemed somewhat patchy. Yet their hesitancy when trying to explain their approach to evaluation had seemed not to lie with the act of evaluating but with the available measures. The tensions around evaluation seemed to lie with how the influence of the outcomes of teacher learning were conceptualised, rather than a lack of awareness or intention that change should, or could, take place or even that it should be reflected upon.

Gail had likened discrete evaluation of her own learning to that of assessment of children's learning; she suggested that it did not produce a holistic understanding of a learner:

like when I am doing my reports ... I think of the whole child and although you are maybe thinking of Drama you're thinking of the child still as a whole, as opposed to looking at the Drama assessments and thinking 'Well they did quite well in that', so more of it is up in your head of the progression of the whole child as they go on rather than points you would mark out that they achieve on the way.

She had then gone on to explain that she thought of her own progression in the same way. Over a year, she knew that her teaching had progressed and as she worked to achieve change, she felt no need to document the process formally.

Other teachers, however, had engaged in somewhat structured evaluation of learning from attendance at courses. They had seemed aware of a need to connect their own learning with that of the children in their class. They had used their forward plans to identify their own learning needs following assessment of the children's learning.

Claire had located her learning in her deep concern to ensure she met the needs of her class each year:

If something specific happens in my classroom or something happens and I'm worried about that then I'll go and look for a CPD around that point [but] it depends, every year is different. Last year it was all behavioural 'cause I had a terrible time last year and I had ran out of strategies and I needed more but they were ones I already knew, it was just one of these years but this year I have a mixture of ability and I have a wee French boy in so all of that is coming into play ... and I do traffic and road safety. So anything that comes up for traffic management and road safety I go on those kind of courses too so, it [the motivation to attend] is for the moment ... that is just how I see it.

However, impact, evident change in practice simply because of course attendance was not necessarily an inevitable outcome from the teachers' perspective. Claire had used her professional judgement to evaluate the appropriateness of any learning in her context, "Well if I go on a course and it's really inspirational then that is great and I'll try it to see if it works or if it isn't [I might not]". As highlighted earlier (cf. this chapter, p.251) this thinking contrasted with some of the opinion shapers who expected evidence of change for all teacher learning. Claire, however, had been more selective in the changes she brought about in her practice. Simply attending a course then making change was deemed inappropriate. She took into account the quality of the potential change. Yet the need to provide auditable evidence had prompted concern, especially when taking such a considered approach:

It would probably just be a sense [of knowing something had brought about a change] to be honest with you, I would know myself, I wouldn't give myself a time limit, I can't work like that I would just say 'right let's see how this goes' and then you know it either works or it doesn't and then you just think 'right try something else now' ... [then] In my planning I would say that I went on a CPD or a course or whatever and was given this advice and learned this and then this had helped whoever move on and that would be the only evaluation that would be printed on paper kind of thing.

Although confident to engage in intuitive professional judgements and evaluation, Claire had still experienced the pressure of performativity. Making professional decisions had been insufficient; Claire had also to find a way to evidence them.

Indicating some understanding of action research, Mandy, a ChT, had explained that she tried to adopt a more formal approach to evaluating the changes that had been made in the pedagogy adopted by the early years teachers in her school:

[My stage partner and I thought] it would be really good to do an assessment of where the current PIs were at the end and then we would be able to use that but we thought how do you measure that? It would be really unethical. You almost needed to have one class as the way we were before and the other trying out this new active learning way of working and obviously we weren't going to do that, and so we didn't. We kind of did it [the evaluation] in our heads, we did have an idea of what stage they were at you know in Oxford Greentree³⁹ and you know the Heinemann programme⁴⁰ and at the end again we spoke about it, and it was informal but we had wished that there had been some way of measuring it.

What was interesting was Mandy's concern that the evaluation had to be measurable in order to be valid. While Mandy had appeared to be creative and had considered alternative ways of learning for the children, she had not been prepared to extend her creativity to evaluation methods. The discourse of measurable impact, a positivist construct, had restricted her thinking.

However, of even more interest were the teachers who had not seemed to engage in any evaluation. Some teachers had been very uncomfortable when asked about evaluation. This part of the interview had prompted the briefest and least expanded answers. It had clearly troubled some of the teachers to acknowledge that they were struggling to discuss this aspect of their learning. Following a pause to gather her thoughts though Lucy had offered an intuitive understanding:

I suppose if it is just something that is part of what I have done with the children, I suppose I am making more of a mental note of it, in my head I am thinking 'that has worked' or 'that has really made a difference', something as simple as thinking what and how does this change things for the children (pause) but in my head.

Lucy's hesitancy suggests that she was aware that in a climate concerned with increasing measures of performativity, that intuitive evaluation might not be enough.

At play here were 'disjunctions between the logics of practice of the policy field and that of the teachers' work' (Hardy and Lingard, 2008, p.63). Much education policy is focused upon bringing about change. Influenced by a managerial disposition, the opinion shapers took account of the wide, complex structure of policy demand with

³⁹ Greentree is a commercial reading programme.

⁴⁰ The Heinemann programme is a commercial maths programme.

which they too must arguably comply. Yet tensions were created as policy is driven by a focus on measurable outputs. Evaluation of teacher learning seemed to take place in different ways and at different levels and had been informed by different ideologies. Locating evaluation only in the positivist domain had failed to recognise the complexity of the social world in which teaching is located. Intuitive evaluation, therefore, does not fit well with the quality assurance discourse.

The opinion shapers who carried out monitoring, however, seemed to view change as an objective reality (Coldwell and Simkins, 2011). Observation of teachers' use of new knowledge and skills (Guskey, 2000) was positioned as an appropriate method to indicate effective teacher learning had taken place. A correlation had been implied between course attendance and an intentional effect that should be achieved. The women had been less concerned with evaluation at this level and had preferred to take account, most often intuitively, of more subtle levels of change in student learning. However, ambiguity and uncertainty are unsettling propositions (Urban, 2009). For Caring women who were committed to 'doing their best' it was difficult to reveal that, although this may be what they felt they should do, that their practice did not match up to expectations. Disquiet concerning evaluation and how the outcomes of their learning may be experienced in the classroom, however, had not been limited to the study teachers. Probing questions had revealed tensions in the perspectives of some of the opinion shapers. The National CPD Co-ordinator had conceded there was:

very little evidence of impact of CPD and that is not just in Scotland that is internationally. There are very few effective studies of how a piece of learning has impact because it is not linear. People don't learn something and something happens as a result. It is a much more diverse and rich experience than that.

The GTCS Director again had been prepared to be candid and had endorsed the complexity in evidencing outcomes, "Impact is such a slippery thing. You know, how **do** you measure impact?" (GTCS Director's emphasis)

Summary

In this chapter, I brought together the influence of policy with the thinking of the opinion shapers and the actions of the women teachers as part of the broad theme

‘playing the game’. I suggested ‘playing the game’ is the strategy used by the women teachers to negotiate the inherent conflicts and tensions between the demands of policy and the field of practice.

Producing themselves as professionals in line with the expectations of the McCrone Agreement and the standards was problematic for many of the women in this study, most noticeably so for the Nice women. On the one hand, they were expected to assert themselves when negotiating workload models, and then on the other hand, they had to comply with the demands of the school improvement plan. This had appeared to bring about a sense of confusion with regard to the purpose of the negotiations.

While negotiating their workload the teachers were expected to take on a responsible role as ‘adult’ professionals. Yet many were then expected to undertake learning and remits with deference to decisions made solely by school management teams. In these instances, the Nice women had lacked the professional authority to contest the demands of their school management teams with regard to the shape and purpose of their learning.

Due to the widespread belief among the opinion shapers that teachers’ learning should be related to the learning of the children in their class, the discourse of impact dominated. This was thought of as a concern in a number of ways. A focus on immediate impact sets aside space to conceptualise professional learning as a form of career development outwith the immediacy of teachers’ present work context. Relatedly the PRD process also seemed to be constrained by the needs of the school and to be a measure of performativity. Worryingly then such practice could bring about stagnation in teachers’ careers. Rather than feeling/being equipped with knowledge about teaching which could enable teachers’ freedom of movement across schools, they may feel/become constrained by their skills. Although well equipped to teach in their present school, teachers may come to lack wider understandings which would be required to work in another school.

Engaging in good practice visits was another theme in ‘playing the game’. The pressure to bring about improvement had been evident in the teachers’ talk. The fear

of inspection had seemed almost as stressful as being inspected. Due in part to the endorsement of the opinion shapers, engaging in good practice had appeared to be a way to perform being a good teacher. Relatedly, for Nice women the commonsenseness of emulating practice sanctioned as good had been thought to be a way to bring about improvement. Unfortunately, this was taking place in the absence of reflection on the quality of their existing practice or any awareness that standardised practice may not necessarily be an uncontested good.

Playing the professional learning game I suggested was particularly problematic with regard to evaluation. I argued that the discourse of impact is growing in weight. With their roots in quality assurance, it was unsurprising that HMIE were particularly committed to the discourse of impact. Yet while most of the opinion shapers were united in their support of the notion of impact, when pressed they had conceded that measuring impact was not straightforward. In comparison the teachers, although also struggling to construct impact within the HMIE discourse, had seemed more prepared to enact solutions rooted in their ways of knowing. Intuitive evaluation had allowed some of the women to connect their learning with the children's in a manner that, although fluid and intangible, had allowed a level of evaluation to take place.

This chapter concludes my discussion of the themes that were important in this study. In Chapter 9, I connect significant features of the Scottish context, as laid out in Chapter 2, with relevant aspects of the literatures from Chapter 3, together with important topics from my analysis and the findings from Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter 9

Making sense of the study: the final ‘so what is going on here’ and why is knowing this useful?

Introduction

In the previous chapter I highlighted that it was important for the study women to know how to ‘play the game’ when enacting learning policy and mediating opinion shapers’ expectations. I now connect significant features of the Scottish context as laid out in Chapter 2 with relevant aspects of the literatures discussed in Chapter 3, together with important topics from my findings as presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 to form my final discussion.

Our lives in the social world revolve around the taken-for-granted (Holligan, 2011). Yet gender matters. Being a woman influences the lived experience, the act of being in the social world. How woman is performed influences how teacher is performed. How teacher is performed influences how learning is experienced and understood. How early learning is experienced influences and shapes a learning disposition. Learning is important in knowing and understanding one’s place in the world.

It seems that understanding one’s place in the world can influence agency and the spaces available in which to construct identities. Identity influences ways of performing as a professional and this performance can replicate and maintain traditional power relationships. Alternatively, performance as a professional can disrupt control and contribute to bring about a more equitable society. However, a lack of critical understanding of one’s place in the world, of ‘big’ issues such as gender, class and race may constrain teachers from contributing to the transformation of society.

What I learned

Through the interviews with women Primary Teachers and opinion shapers, along with analysis of national and local policy I explored the experiences and discourses which had shaped some women Primary Teachers’ understandings of teacher

learning in Scotland. While I concur that there is a need to continue to examine the place of policy in shaping education (Ball, 2003; Apple, 2006; Kennedy, 2006; Kennedy *et al.*, 2008a), I also stress that there is a need to further understand the implications of early socialisation during schooling for women who become Primary Teachers.

Although much work has been carried out which examines the influence of girls' gender performance during schooling (Francis, 1998; Reay, 2005; Skelton and Francis, 2009) and explores teachers' lives (Nias, 1989; Sammons *et al.*, 2007; Day *et al.*, 2007), fewer studies have drawn together the influence of gendering of both policy and performance, in the context of teacher learning. Further research is still needed on the ways the private self connects with the public realm (Dillabough, 2006; Francis, 2008b) when learning as an adult professional.

While I support the view that learning as a teacher can be situated within discourses of critical, intellectual investigation of education, I argue that in this study the discourse of competence through the development of technical skills dominates teachers' CPD in Scotland. However, the realm of the private was also evident in the teachers' learning. The importance that the teachers placed on dialogue suggests further understanding of non-formal learning is still required. Study of this phenomenon, however, will be problematic. The women in this study were themselves unaware of how important talk had been in progressing their understandings. This only became evident during the interview discussions. The invisible nature of this learning was related, in part, to the value placed on alternative ways of knowing and experiencing the world. This is then connected to the value ascribed to women as teachers and as professionals.

Why gender matters

Barr (1999, p.112) asserts:

if women are to claim rather than simply receive an education
... feminists have to 'to make visible what has been rendered
invisible' – women's work, knowledge and power.

As indicated by some of the women in Chapter 6 (p.184), I suggest that somewhat contrary to the Scottish myth that an egalitarian tradition exists in Scotland that some girls still remain invisible during schooling (cf. Chapter 1, p.2). As girls, the Nice women in the study (and due to the age range of the women it seemed this phenomenon had altered little over time) had been socialised through their experiences of early schooling into an identity which they performed mainly through compliance and submission. In line with earlier claims by Paterson (2000) and Walters (2004), I draw attention here to an unsurprising conclusion. Schooling plays a part in shaping identity and learning dispositions. This then influences how learners position themselves in subsequent learning environments.

That said, the women who took part in this study did not enact only one identity, one performance of gender. Doing girl had many guises (Butler, 1990; Connell, 2009). Again, I stress although it was not my intention to essentialise behaviours, the women in this study performed girl within what could be described as socially normative boundaries. Their gendered identities were seemingly shaped and constrained by the gender scripts made available to them during early schooling.

Overall, what had seemed clear was that like the teachers in Mahony *et al's*. (2004, p.143) study, 'the primacy of their professional commitments towards their students' had also motivated the women Primary Teachers in this study. With this as the defining attributed characteristic, all of the study women were characterised as Caring teachers. However, the women's performance of the Caring teacher varied in line with their habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). The Nice women worked conscientiously and compliantly, constrained by structures of social culture, schooling and education policy. Similar in nature to the Nice women, the Kind women were further attributed the characteristic of kindness to note their deep concern to be selflessly helpful. Alternatively, the Confident women had produced themselves as women of reason, while Authoritative women had produced themselves visibly with a desire to lead.

The influence of negative school experiences is often referred to in literatures concerned with the reproduction of class (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Connell, 2009). However, negative experiences also influence those who struggle during schooling (Bernstein, 1977) and this struggle then influences their later experiences

in adult education (MacLachlan, Tett and Hall, 2009). Additionally, I suggest that the influence of schooling is also of note in relation to constructions of gender for those who have *seemingly* experienced educational success, as the long term influence of gendered roles serves to replicate inequality in social conditions, such as in life opportunities and pay gaps etc. (Francis, 2006b). This has implications for women Primary teachers' identity, their learning and their career paths.

Attention has been drawn to the slow/low take up of ChT (Audit Scotland, 2006; HMIe, 2007c). Questions, however, can be raised regarding the place increased workload may have. Teachers must engage either in additional study in order to work towards the status, or compile a portfolio of evidence to claim prior accredited learning. A substantial commitment with regard to time is required for both routes. Furthermore, the role of the ChT is fuzzy. Although ChT status recognises classroom expertise, there is an expectation from some that ChTs should share their expertise beyond the confines of their own classroom. Yet the conservative nature of teachers may make them resistant to expand their professional obligations beyond the children that they have responsibility for. However, less likely to be mentioned as a barrier to the uptake of ChT is academic challenge; that post-graduate qualification should have appeal for teachers is an unproblematised assumption.

Given that teaching in Scotland is a graduate profession, it may seem a natural progression to extend teaching to a Masters Degree profession. Comparisons are often made with the Masters qualified teaching profession in Finland where teachers are held in high esteem (Sahlberg, 2011) due in part to the high ranking of these countries in international comparisons of attainment (Ball, 2008). Advancing through levels of accredited learning seems to have appeal for those who shape educational policy. However, there were indications among the study women that, due to their identity and learning disposition, the Nice teachers would not consider it appealing to participate in further academic study no matter the professional incentive nor financial or personal reward. The Nice women would find it difficult to be troubled by learning, to have to examine assumptions that could threaten the structures and systems they believed in. Moreover, it would not cause them a positive 'troublesomeness' (Perkins, 2005 in Bayne, 2008, p.197) but an intellectual

uncertainty that could be immobilising, that would be uncomfortable and anxiety-inducing (Bayne, 2008). This could be particularly so for those with learning identities already characterised by struggle and uncertainty. Understanding teachers therefore as women with varied learning dispositions allowed a more nuanced analysis of the uptake of ChT, as it placed the women as learners at the heart of the debate. Relatedly, I suggest that the habitus of the Confident and the Authoritative women played a part in readying them for further academic study.

Although ChT status was conceived originally as a positive move to provide career options for those who chose to remain in the classroom, it seems a two-tier social order of teachers may now be bringing about unintended consequences. While debate continues as to the status of ChTs, I suggest it may now be the status of CTs that is about to become problematic. Questions can be raised regarding the standard, content and purpose of the CPD to be made available to each grade of teacher as variation in teachers' professional grade and the level of their professional learning may become a concern for pupils and their carers.

While all the women in this study cared about children, their care was nuanced. The Nice women, of whom all but Sue were CTs, were more concerned on a day-to-day basis with the children in their care. Interestingly, while the SFR states this is required for CTs that 'Registered teachers show in their day-to-day practice a commitment to social justice, inclusion and caring for and protecting children' (GTCS, 2006a, p.14), the SChT makes no demand for caring, rather that:

Chartered teachers demonstrate integrity and ethical practice and are committed to core educational and social values, such as equality, social justice and inclusion, and to pupils' cognitive, intellectual, personal, social, moral and cultural development

(GTCS, 2009, p.3).

The Standards seem to present a structure in which emotional labour sits in tension with intellectual labour. The Nice women in the study are to perform as caring teachers while the Confident and Authoritative women are to perform teaching seemingly as organic professionals (Tickle, 2001; Gramsci, 2007). It seems there is still much to explore regarding the varied professional standings of teachers and how

variation in standing may play a part in shaping professional identities, a point I return to again later in this chapter (p.263) (cf. Postscript, p.283).

Gendering teaching and policy as feminised or masculinised is complex. Although in my analysis of policy (cf. Chapter 2, p12) I argue that the Standards are becoming increasingly masculinised, both in their presentation and in the manner and level of prescription, this does not mean the Standards are inaccessible to women teachers.

As discussed in Chapter 4 (p.102), gender performance is not limited biologically by sex (Butler, 1990; Salih, 2002; Connell, 2009). So although masculinised, the policy sanctioned performance of the teacher will be accessible to some women. However, current structures seem to increasingly favour women who are able to enact masculine ways of knowing policy. Difference in teacher identity may then be characterised by the rational/irrational, reason/emotion binary rather than respecting the balance that can be brought about when the contributions of the Nice women are valued alongside the contributions of the Confident women. Yet within the two-tier teacher structure, this was not the case. Financially, full ChT status brought with it a substantial increase in salary (approx £7 000 per annum) compared with the salary for a CT at the top of the main grade pay scale (EIS, 2011).

There are many who argue that initiatives like ChT have the potential to bring transformation to education (Sachs, 2003; Williamson and Robinson, 2009). However, these claims are tempered by Connelly and McMahon (2007; McMahon, 2008) who suggest that while the influence of the CT programme has been positive, this is articulated by ChTs as individual, professional advancement rather than bringing about systemic change within the school context. The question of how to bring about transformation to the teaching profession still seems problematic. Yet perhaps of even more significance in the debate of transformation of education is the question of transformation from what, to what. Dillabough (2009, p.53) suggests 'the difficult task for feminists is to problematise the gendered premises of democratic education' and claims that women teachers are used to implement ideals such as autonomy even though they themselves are constrained by the 'illusion of choice' (Dillabough, 2009, p.46). I suggest that this was the case for the ChTs. Although the Confident women had seemed to be more prepared than the Nice

women to tackle how to improve outcomes for children by reflecting on their practice and advancing their professional status, they too were restrained by policy discourses. These policy discourses, while purporting to advance organic professionals did so within mechanisms of control, of managerialism and performativity.

Teachers' gendered identities then were significant in mediating available learning opportunities. The Confident women, who were able to produce themselves in the light of reason, were able to access learning opportunities which brought about increased professional and personal benefits (Connelly and McMahon, 2007) while the women who produced themselves within traditional boundaries of female gender performance (Dillabough, 2006) often found themselves marginalised during learning (cf. Chapter 6, p.202). Due to their gender performance their learning had remained Othered, lacking. Of importance are the consequences of this identity; the Nice teachers' work may remain of less value both financially and socially. This is important not only for women who are teachers but for children and society more generally and why in the next section, I discuss teacher learning.

The continuing puzzle of teacher learning

Atkinson and Claxton (2000, p.2) believe that:

... the importance of the deliberate, conscious articulation of knowledge, whether others' or one's own, may in the current intellectual climate be overestimated, while intuitive forms of knowledge and ways of knowing have been tended to be ignored or under-theorized.

Puzzling the nature of knowledge and the power inscribed, or not, in varied ways of knowing was a theme throughout this thesis.

As indicated by the women Primary Teachers in Chapter 7 (p.193) their experiences and understandings of professional learning were situated in local, temporal, social realities. However, their experiences were constrained by the interplay of policy through managerialist measures and the gendered nature of social realities. The women's local and socially constructed understandings contrasted with the policy construction of teacher learning as a commodity which sets aside the importance of

the social and the personal. My analysis, therefore, stresses the complexity of the women's experiences of teacher learning as tension existed between conflict and consent, policy and practice and public and private. These tensions then influenced the women's engagement with learning. So while the women questioned the value of many of the learning opportunities organised by their respective school management teams, their concerns were seldom voiced. They remained silent as they carried out the activities. Yet the study teachers' enactment of teacher learning was not altogether confined by organisational loyalty (cf. Chapter 3, p.31), however, their alternative practice cannot be described as dissenting as it was not voiced, not revealed to those in authority.

Mainly the Nice women had engaged in hidden learning which reflected other ways of knowing, in which the realm of the private had seemed important during self-directed, 'useful' learning (cf. Chapter 7, p.203). Following Eraut's (2000c) thinking regarding the problematic nature of non-formal learning, especially that of implicit learning, I draw attention to the importance that many of the study teachers placed on dialogue and to some of the ways the rational input/output developmental model of learning marginalised Other ways of knowing.

Policy constructs learning through CPD as a phenomenon limited by time. Yet Paterson (2009, p.95) points out that 'the seeds of learning do take a while to germinate'. Germination through non-formal learning and intuitive ways of knowing, while valued by the Nice women was marginalised by a discourse in which learning/change must be visible, measurable, efficient and fast. This discourse had consequences for the Nice women's understandings of the value and purpose of their own learning and these understandings seemed to subordinate their identities as teachers, as learners and as professionals.

The SFR (GTCS, 2006a, p.2) states:

A commitment to lifelong learning and personal development and enquiry is at the heart of being part of a learning profession.

I speculate that all the teachers in this study would likely concur with this statement.

The women were all engaged in learning with the ongoing intention of improving their professional practice. The commonsenseness of the lifelong learning discourse, however, has become a powerful discursive truth that obscures issues of power and control. Constrained by societal and structural boundaries, the women Primary Teachers did not have the space to reveal openly their constructions of teacher learning; rather, they were restricted by the model imposed by opinion shapers and tradition. Furthermore, due to steering by opinion shapers, the teachers were not always trusted to have an adult professional voice and were positioned alternatively, as somewhat helpless, unable to interpret policy without intervention from more knowledgeable experts (National CPD Team, 2005, 2008). As I suggested in Chapter 7, (cf. p.203) there were consequences, no matter how small, for teachers who enacted learning outwith the imposed parameters. As demonstrated by the Nice women's actions, at times the teachers enacted a holistic approach to learning which was embedded in their working practices. However, this alternative notion of learning was not given legitimacy.

The notion of 'formal' CPD is itself complex. Driven by standardisation and regulation of practice, formal CPD seemed more often concerned to meet the wider demand of school improvement targets than to satisfy teachers' entitlement to advance their knowledge. Although perhaps able to bring about change in practice across a school, membership of an organised community of practice (Wenger, 1998) was not necessarily perceived as a learning experience by the women teachers. Despite employing models for learning which were in line with those offered as models for transformative learning, as the Working Parties and Networks were controlled at school level with the intention of bringing about change in line with EA expectations, the need for organisational change had diminished the opportunities for the teachers to learn. While change in practice may suggest development, this overlooks the role of regulation and the perspective of the teacher.

The Nice women in this study had made it clear they often felt they had little control over the focus and purpose of much of their learning. 'Doing CPD' (Dye, Herrington, Hughes, Kendall and Smith, 2010, p.290) was not necessarily connected with learning. Being developed meant ensuring one was up-to-date with current

initiatives, not left behind (Dye *et al.*, 2010) thus ensuring one was not vulnerable to being revealed as not being a committed professional (cf. Chapter 2, p.12) and so not part of the learning profession (GTCS, 2006a).

Yet teachers learning with teachers, outwith formal CPD time, seemed to offer unrecognised and undervalued learning opportunities. Although the teachers were often concerned initially with the utility of learning experiences, grappling with how to implement procedural learning through dialogue with colleagues may be a site of deeper and more relevant learning than that offered by pseudo-learning directed by school improvement targets. Such self-directed, socially constructed approaches to learning may also provide more space for teacher agency. However, a lack of trust in intuitive ways of knowing is a characteristic of managerialism. The level of accountability evident in policy claiming to re-professionalise teachers confirms this.

Re-professionalising implies a move from the old to the new. I suggest re-professionalising teachers too often involves moves from the feminised to the masculinised, from the intuitive to the rational, the unregulated to the regulated. While this claim may seem stark, I purposely offer dichotomies here to draw attention to my argument that the discourse of the effective teacher has come to dominate the conceptualisation of teacher in Scotland. However, I do not believe, that intuitive and rational thinking are necessarily inherently incompatible constructs; rather, I suggest that the current demand for visible, measurable evidence increasingly subordinates and devalues intangible constructs.

The Nice women in this study seemed to have '[in]sufficient belief in themselves as 'professionals' to challenge top-down policy implementation' (Osgood, 2006, p.189) and so like the early years practitioners in Osgood's study the women had adopted 'passive resistance' (Osgood, 2006, p.189) by performing public and private learning practices.

Edmonds and Lee (2002) found a supportive school ethos and a culture which expects all teachers to engage in CPD to be important factors in securing change as a result of CPD. The women in this study seemed to know of this purpose for learning and the Nice women dutifully met their contractual obligation. At the public level,

subject to the managerial gaze, they performed authorised learning behaviours. However, at the hidden level of everyday practice, the Nice teachers had engaged in non-formal intuitive learning. Although the purpose of this learning coincided with authorised learning to improve outcomes for children, as it was based in teachers' evaluations, it was at the same time also responsive to their own learning needs.

However, attempting to define precisely how teacher learning is translated into improved outcomes for children's attainment, despite increasing pressures to do so, I suggest is unwise. The complexity of the learning process goes far beyond simple linear input/output explanations. A number of influences are in play in the interrelated nature of teacher learning and children's learning. Among them is how teachers view themselves as learners. Teachers' prior learning experiences differ and so the attitudes and value placed on learning vary. There may then be a need to take account of more than the model of learning when aiming to ensure teachers have access to teacher learning that can be deemed successful. Indeed, what seems to be important, and yet is often overlooked, is taking into account the varied attitudes and dispositions that teachers bring to their learning. As we have seen, the disposition of the Nice women was notably different to the Confident and the Authoritative women, and this influenced their engagement and understandings of learning.

Having highlighted the importance of gender and its influence on teachers as learners, I now conclude this section by offering some final thoughts on professionalism.

What's in a word: professionalism?

The professional aspect of Continuing Professional Development I suggest is problematic and so worthy of discussion. The very notion of what it is to be a professional is contested and continues to be a focus of academic debate (cf. Chapter 3, p.48). Yet in the case of CPD, the inclusion of the term professional could be no more than a heuristic to denote the work-based nature of the activity. While at times the term is shortened to Professional Development (PD), I can recall no instances where the activity was termed Continuing Development (CD). The inclusion of professional seems then to denote something about not only the nature but also perhaps the status and purpose of the learning. Therein it seems lies the rub: does

teachers' continuing professional development enhance professionalism, does it act as a means to re-professionalise or conversely does it de-professionalise?

In this thesis, I argue the dominant policy discourse of professionalism, despite rhetoric at times to the contrary (SG, 2009), reflects organisational professionalism (Evetts, 2009). A technical, rational discourse of the teacher dominates both CPD policy and the perspective of many of the interviewed opinion shapers. Discourses serve to 'inculcate "appropriate" work identities, conducts and practices' (Evetts, 2009, p.22), and in this study due to the imposition of control, performativity and standardisation, it seems that an appropriate teacher identity is one that is constrained in nature.

While teaching may be advanced as a profession, policy steering suggests enactment of 'an appropriate form of professionalism' (Osgood, 2006, p.189) which restricts both practice and teacher learning. As discussed earlier in Chapter 8 (p.240), the imposition of standardised concepts disseminated through the notion of good practice was increasingly powerful in regulating and constraining the teachers' practice along with where, when and how formal learning could take place. Of concern is the influence of the apparent commonsense nature of the competent teacher, as it has squeezed out other conceptualisations of teacher professionalism due to their lack of fit with dominant managerial concerns with effectiveness and impact. So although giving an impression of autonomy through collaborative learning opportunities (Dillabough, 2006), as I discussed earlier in this chapter (p.267), many of the women in this study had experienced not professionalising but controlled development through targeted skills training.

Looking back to the traditional professional class as white, middle-class gentlemen threw some light on the problematic nature of professional learning. To understand CPD more deeply, I found it useful to deconstruct the traditional triad, knowledge, autonomy and responsibility (cf. Chapter 3, p.48) as the characterising conditions of professionalism.

In this study, it seemed the teachers often underwent skills development during CPD rather than developing a high-status body of specialised knowledge. Such CPD then operates:

as a technology of compliance that seeks to align the interests
of the individual member of staff with those of institutions,
policies and governments

(Dye *et al.*, 2010, p.291).

Behaving professionally in this case, demands an uncritical approach. This notion of professionalism demands teachers to be technically competent, to share the values of the policy discourse and to uphold the values of the school as regulated professionals; a position in stark contrast to the knowledge and autonomy traditionally enjoyed by professionals. Restricting access to knowledge and understanding I suggest then constrains teachers' status. Positioning teachers as professionals operates further as a 'means of occupation control' (Ozga, 1995, p.33). Developing skills sufficient to enable competency to teach within prevailing quality assurance frameworks may, however, be insufficient to engage critically with the purpose of schooling and to take autonomous responsibility for making judgements that could shape education.

In Chapter 7 (p.211), I claimed that the Confident and the Authoritative women, ChTs were given restricted responsibilities; sufficient to bring about controlled change but insufficient to direct its path. However, the restricted nature of their responsibilities was not apparent to the women. Yet this was unsurprising given that teaching is a women's profession and women are often positioned as the transmitters of traditional cultural practices. Examining the lived experience of teachers' day-to-day learning suggests teacher professionalism does not reflect the traditional triad. Given the gendered nature of teachers' work, I suggest the hegemonic notion of professionalism inscribed in the traditional triad would be neither suitable nor desirable for teaching. Again, the issue of gender is important.

Traditional notions of professionalism are conceptualised within rational, hegemonic boundaries. Traditional notions of professionalism therefore operate as a subtle way of seeming to enhance the status of women while at the same time restricting their

place in the professional hierarchy. Promoting the teacher as a professional focuses on a concern to improve teacher quality rather than to improve the status of teaching. Restricting CPD to skills development operates both as a means to control teacher quality and at the same time restricts the status of women's work. This ensures teachers are not fully admitted to the rank of professional.

The gendered order of professional practice is dominated by reason. Women's ways of knowing characterised by emotion and a concern with care remain illegitimate, unacknowledged, insufficient in power to challenge the old professions (Connell, 1995). Reason is still constructed more powerfully than care (cf. p.263). The introduction of ChT then may have caused an unanticipated ripple in the professional status stakes.

In this study, the Confident and the Authoritative women seemed to be able to produce themselves as women of reason. Connell explains 'In hierarchically organised workplaces of this kind, superior knowledge is supposed to be concentrated at the top' (Connell, 1995, p.173); and the Standards, as I have already suggested in this chapter (p.263), seems to have brought about a hierarchy in teaching. Debate then concerning the teacher as a professional now has an added dimension. Rather than asking, do women as teachers have equal status in the workforce as professionals, it seems a more nuanced question must be posed; do all women as teachers have equal status as professionals *within* teaching? I draw attention again to the Confident and the Authoritative women, who because of their accumulated capital and habitus were able to enact a construct of the teacher which seemed more likely to be admitted to the professional class.

As I suggested earlier in Chapter 3 (p. 57) advancing teaching as a profession when applying traditional notions of professionalism will do more to sustain ingrained societal constructions that marginalise some women's experiences and understandings. Strangely then, although femininities and masculinities may be thought of as subject to change (Connell, 1995), the gendered structure of society, of learning and of professionalism continues to be resistant which has consequences for both women and for men.

Having advanced my final arguments as to why gender, learning and professionalism are important considerations when aiming to add further nuance to understanding women Primary teachers' learning, I turn now to acknowledge some of the limitations of this study.

Advancing beyond acknowledged boundaries

In this study, I make no claims to broad generalisations. I am aware this small-scale study took place in one local authority at a particular time with purposively selected participants. There will be other phenomena, which I did not investigate, but which will have influenced the culture of teachers' learning at the time of the study.

Class no doubt played a part in the women's constructions of themselves as learners. That the women were all white would have played a part in their identity work, however, class and race are issues I chose not to pursue. While an analysis that examined the teachers' perspective as gendered, classed and raced could have added analytic depth and complexity, due to my status as a novice researcher, investigating only one aspect, allowed me to begin to develop focused, in-depth theoretical understanding of gender rather than shallow knowledge of all three.

That all the teachers worked in one EA will also have been significant. Although I refer to policy at EA level, I did not carry out analysis on the basis of a case study. My focus lay with women who are Primary Teachers, rather than with systems and structures. It will be unwise therefore to generalise my findings and suggest the same pattern will be found in other EAs in either Scotland or elsewhere. A case study approach investigating the authority perspective on teachers' learning would no doubt have added a further layer of understanding to this study but neither my focus nor time permitted this.

Significantly, while I did observe a small number of organised CPD opportunities, I did not carry out observation of non-formal learning. The spontaneous nature of such learning made planning for outsider observation somewhat problematic! Yet the findings from this study suggest a need to progress understandings of what teachers do both consciously and, more importantly, unconsciously to progress their understandings following participation in formal learning opportunities. An

ethnographic study observing teachers at work could do much to progress understandings in this area.

Evaluation of teacher learning also seems a highly problematic area and one not well addressed in my findings despite a research question in this area. My findings suggest that the prevailing focus lies with snapshot measures of impact. Rather than providing a framework for evaluation, this approach seems to create barriers when attempting to trace the influence of teacher learning. Evaluation is an area which the teachers and the opinion shapers seemed to agree was important, yet both struggled to be clear as to how evaluation should, or even could, take place. There seemed to be a lack of conceptual clarity, no common understanding, about the form it should/could take, what it should/could measure, what measure to use or even of the underpinning purposes for making measures. Perhaps due to this lack of conceptual clarity, the HMIe discourse of impact characterised by quantitative measures with positivist underpinnings has come to prevail. Confidence, however, in the outputs of this method was not so readily demonstrated by the other opinion shapers, due perhaps to the method's limited use thus far in progressing either understandings of evaluation or the usefulness of the measures. So again, an ethnographic study as suggested previously could do much to progress understandings in this area. Furthermore, an ethnographic study could highlight the usefulness of qualitative measures in the area of evaluation. However, I must stress this suggestion is made not with the intention of sustaining the qualitative, quantitative divide. Rather, I simply suggest complementary measures could be useful in progressing understandings of the enigma of evaluation, particularly in instances of non-formal, incidental, and tacit evaluation.

Finally, notably absent from this study is the perspective of male teachers. Although I visited the Education Centre almost daily in the month of November and made very frequent trips over the course of Term 2 in 2008, I was seldom aware of men teachers. Most of the EA courses offered around 20 places. Statistically 1-2 men should have attended the courses. However, my field notes made little reference to men. Indeed, I have only one note describing a man teacher's voice in the social area (cf. Chapter 7, p.199). Whether this can be considered a trustworthy indication of

men teachers' CPD attendance or whether my focus on women caused the men to be hidden from me, I cannot say. However, carrying out this study has caused me often to ponder how men are socialised to do gender, to do learner and how this then shapes their performance as a Primary Teacher. A study similar in nature to this one but conducted with men Primary Teachers could add much to understandings of the role of gender in men teachers' learning. However, as a woman researcher, I have also pondered the place my gender would play in shaping such a study. My role as insider would be altered.

In spite of these limitations, I argue that this study contributes to understandings of women Primary Teacher's perspectives on their own teacher learning by stressing the gendered nature of the women's' experiences and understandings of learning. In the section that follows, I elaborate further as to why this study is useful.

Why might this study be useful?

Weiss (Weiss, Lindquist and Dale, 2003, p.3) in a discussion on policy making and research asserts that '[Research] punctures old myths, offers new perspectives, and changes the priority of issues'. However, Weiss (1991) also insightfully points to the difficulty in drawing out implications for policy when policy makers strip away the research story as their interest lies only in the results. This could also be so for the use any interested party might make of these research findings. Although I now offer some suggestions as to why this research might matter, it is with the intention of puncturing old myths and offering new perspectives *within* the context of my research story.

Usefulness to the real world

Upon embarking on this study, it was my aim to contribute to theoretical understandings in two main areas; CPD policy for teachers in Scotland and teacher identity. The findings achieve this by focusing attention on the ways teachers negotiate their learning within the constraints mainly of local demands and the discourse of school improvement as advanced by HMIE.

These findings may be of use to those who plan CPD for teachers, particularly at EA level. However, making use of this study requires firstly acknowledgement of the

need to move from teacher development to teacher learning. This will cause conflict not only for EAs but also for teachers; that said the quality of teachers' learning must be improved.

Change in education may be more likely if teachers were encouraged to continue to think about, for example, the influence of sociological constructs on education as Student Teachers do during ITE. Ideally, partnerships between Universities and EAs should be forged. EAs have an obligation to take more account of the depth of the learning that Students Teachers undertake during ITE. Presently this knowledge is often set aside. In the study authority, although the EA CPD course descriptors indicated the target teacher group and sometimes the stage the learning was structured towards i.e. Primary, early years P1-3, EA CPD did not acknowledge nor build on prior learning. Practical knowledge was promoted at the expense of theoretical understanding. Attitudes that position Student Teachers and Probationers as, "poor things, they don't know anything really" should be countered. While inexperienced, positioning Student Teachers and Probationers as becoming teachers could more helpfully draw attention to their knowledge as still under construction.

However, unimpeded by the constraints of the school improvement targets, teachers themselves also need to engage critically with why they carry out CPD. The teachers in this study demonstrated willingness and enthusiasm to do this when provided with the luxury of time and prompting to do so. Yet although the PRD process should support reflection, it did not seem to do this successfully. Engaging in a two-stage PRD could be a more useful process. Teachers could engage in one review with school management teams in order to meet the demands of school improvement targets and in another with a Career Co-ordinator who would be attentive to teachers as individuals with an entitlement to learn, to advance professionally.

While CfE (SG, 2009) aims to bring about change to curriculum content and to pedagogy, questions remain as to the extent that teachers reflect on their own pedagogy. When it did take place in this study, reflection had been limited by the HMle discourse of what am I doing, how can I change? Consideration of change was then constrained by the requirement to change, while maintaining current structures. Reflection prompted by questions such as what do I know about

education, what do I need to learn more about, may lead to reflection on bigger concepts such as class and gender which may even lead to consideration of feminist pedagogies? This, however, is not a straightforward proposition. The Nice teachers would find it difficult to take responsibility and disrupt present systems. However, in this study children's needs lie at the heart of the Caring teachers' actions. Girls and boys have much to gain from teachers who are brave enough to reflect critically on their own position, to engage, perhaps, in feminist pedagogies and create gender aware classrooms.

The outputs of research, however, like teacher learning should not be limited to practical applications. I suggest next why this study is also useful from a research perspective.

Usefulness to academia

Outwith the contributions I have already laid out in this chapter with regard to gender, learning and professionalism, serendipity and unexpected turns added to the relevance of this study. Yet again, I turn to focus on gender.

The literatures focused on gender were new to me. As expected, reading extensively in this area allowed me to progress my understandings of feminist ways of knowing the world. Unexpectedly, I had realised that many feminist authors, while remaining critical and analytical, wrote in the first person. Furthermore, that the writing style and tone of some authors seemed to contrast with the conventional academic tone. This led me to think further about the epistemological positioning of this study.

My use of the first person in much of this thesis is therefore intentional, as is my titling of the chapters and the terminology that I use. Writing style can be used to enhance methodological stance and to challenge the still prevalent scientific, objective style of academic writing conventionally adopted in qualitative research. Although social science is multifaceted and already acknowledges variety, a normative reporting approach common to natural science is still widely adopted for social science. So while I admittedly report findings that are qualitative in nature in that they are themes with high instances of mention (Wheedon, 2011), this reporting had seemed insufficient to be constrained by a reporting style rooted in the positivist

tradition. In order to continue to advance ways not only of knowing but also the reporting of qualitative enquiry, embracing creativity in thinking and also writing style, seemed a way of capturing processes and data that are different (Le Grange, 2007). Therefore rather than invalidating my claims, embracing the position I play in shaping the study and making it clear in my writing strengthens my claims and assertions. Indeed, I suggest natural scientists could learn much from social scientists in this area.

However, as my questioning of conventional methods of reporting came well after the writing process was underway, I followed the traditional thesis structure of a literature review, conceptual framework and a methods chapter followed by findings, discussion and implications. In a bid though to disrupt normative conventions, I rejected the aforementioned terms and adopted alternative headings. Adopting such language provided a space to challenge the power of the scientific discourse and rational ways of knowing thus acknowledging the field of qualitative research as complex, messy and still evolving (Law, 2004).

I conclude now with a final thought.

Final word

Previous studies have respectively researched women's ways of knowing, teacher learning, professionalism and the masculinization of teaching. In this study, I have attempted to make links across these concepts by investigating the women teachers' perceptions of their own learning experiences over time and how this has influenced their later engagement with professional learning at a time when teaching as a profession was being reconceptualised. It seems developing critical understanding of one's place in the world, of 'big' issues such as gender, class and race may support teachers to contribute to the transformation, not only of education but also, of society. I stress, therefore, that encouraging teachers to engage in teacher learning, rather than CPD, is important. Also of importance is what counts as teacher learning, taking account only of sanctioned learning caused learning valuable to women teachers to be set aside. Such learning played an important part in constructions of what it is to be a woman Primary Teacher. It seems teaching will not easily be transformed if caring and thinking continue to be gendered and positioned in

opposition to each other, rather than both being valued as vital and complementary ways of knowing the world. Space is yet to be made for women Primary Teachers to be fully admitted to the professional class in Scotland.

Chapter 10

Personal reflection

Having drawn together the main points of this thesis in the previous chapter, in this final chapter I conclude my doctoral study by reflecting on my own learning.

As I explained in the introduction, this thesis was unashamedly an analytic quest based on some of my day-to-day lived experiences as a Primary Teacher in Scotland. I find it necessary, therefore, to end with a reflection from a personal perspective as ‘qualitative research, in its purest form, is experienced by and embodied through the researchers themselves’ (Coffey, 2007, p.1). Throughout this thesis I have aimed to make known both my teacher self and researcher self in order to frame how personal experiences were the starting points which directed a sociological gaze.

I joined the teaching profession in Scotland in 2000. The McCrone Report’s (SEED, 2001) promise that I would be, not only encouraged, but provided with opportunity to engage in learning beyond that of ITE had seemed a gift. My faith in education to bring about transformation is not limited to the potential for change for the lives of children. I also believe teacher education has the potential to transform teachers’ understandings of what education may be for and how societal change can be brought about in Scotland. It was perplexing then, at an early career stage, to have to question the worth of some of my CPD and the way some of my colleagues had perceived ‘the gift’.

I can attest that my learning through designing and carrying out this study has progressed and will continue to do so. I can now use some of the thinking tools provided by Bourdieu to understand embodied experiences in a manner unimagined previously. Yet at what point my grappling with deep theoretical concepts moved from knowing to understanding, I simply cannot say. At times I read words that individually I could comprehend, but then when presented together to construct a theory somehow became incomprehensible. Then through further reading and dialogic talk with my supervisors, the words and the thinking became comprehensible again. As I began to make the connections that then progressed my

understandings, I had an awareness that I was learning. Had I to record the process as hours on a CPD record, I would truly not know where to begin.

Although I anticipate a career path leading away from teaching in Primary Schools, I can attest that I have progressed as a teacher. My knowledge and understandings of both the structures that govern and support teachers, along with understandings of some of the social interactions that take place in the classroom, are significantly deepened. As a teacher I had tried to be alert to gender differences in learning, yet I now understand I was then, and even now with better understanding, still will be only scratching the surface (Skelton and Francis, 2009). Yet, if I were to have to engage with a line manager in a PRD process, to have to argue within the present framework for teachers' CPD that my learning has value, to have to demonstrate impact worthy of such a lengthy period of study, I fear I would struggle. Yet I know I am a better teacher.

My thinking, therefore, returned to my teaching colleagues for whom such processes remain as part of the accountability and performativity structure. Having a glimpse into the thinking of the Nice teachers had thrown some light on their ways of knowing and experiencing the social world. While this made me re-evaluate my understanding of what it may be to be a good teacher, and the learning required to bring about change for children, it has also reinvigorated my questioning of the linear input-output model of school improvement presented to teachers by opinion shapers such as HMIe.

During the design stage of planning this study, it had seemed the thinking of opinion shapers, such as HMIe, would be a significant focus of this study. However, as I became concerned to foreground the experiences and understandings of the women Primary Teachers the thinking of the opinion shapers seemed less central to the theory I was constructing. Still, their voice remained important, as it had influenced the structures that had shaped the women Primary Teachers experiences. 'Consistent with the logic of grounded theory' (Charmaz, 2006, p.59), the interviews I conducted with the opinion shapers contributed to my theory in relation to the women Primary teachers' experiences. The opinion makers interviews became a means to make 'relationships between implicit processes and structures visible' (Charmaz, 2006,

p.54): to draw attention to managerial control as hegemonic. The data remained significant in explaining the layers of structural control that had shaped and influenced the women's day-to-day lives as teachers.

Early in the study, hegemony was a construct that I had spent much time investigating as a potential theoretical guide (cf. Chapter 4, p.106). However, I decided to set it aside as a theoretical tool even though the day-to-day experiences of women and women as teachers were dominated by hegemonic masculinity (Griffiths, 2006). With hindsight, I should have given more prominence to explicit recognition of hegemonic control. My thesis is replete with instances of control and of the women's domination, yet as my attention became focused on the detail of the women's experiences, their hegemonic existence became commonsense, a taken-for-granted unexamined truth. Setting aside Gramsci's work as an analytical tool had been in relation to the limitations I had perceived it might have in analysing the detail of the women's experiences. Now that I am no longer immersed in the detail of the study, I again see the worth of Gramsci's thinking in highlighting the structural control which had subordinated the women as teachers, as learners and as professionals.

I will continue to argue for the importance of teacher learning in bringing about change in the lives of teachers and children and as a means to disrupt the hegemonic control, which I, in a thesis concerned with power and control, in the end gave insufficient attention. In carrying out this study, however, I now have some understanding of why sadly, for some teachers, 'the gift' of teacher learning may not seem so precious.

Postscript

The constancy of change: the Donaldson Review, organisational restructuring and the McCormac Report

Scotland at the time of this study was in what may be described as an era of educational reform. Towards the latter stages of writing this thesis, education in Scotland was undergoing change in both educational policy and in organisational structure. These changes were not taken account of in the main body of this thesis. They took place after contextualization of the main analysis and the theory construction within policy as it was at the time of data collection. However, these changes have implications for the arguments presented here. In order to acknowledge these changes, I now refer to them briefly and stress the significance of some in relation to my arguments. I touch briefly on the Donaldson Review, structural re-organisation and the McCormac Report.

In 2010, a review of teacher education in Scotland was undertaken on behalf of the Scottish Government. Worthy of remark is that a former Head of HMIE, Graham Donaldson, led the review. The final report, *Teaching Scotland's future: a report of a review of teacher education in Scotland* (SG, 2010d)⁴¹ (published in January 2011), is commonly referred to as the Donaldson Report. Although claiming to adopt an open approach, I suggest the findings were shaped by the HMIE discourses of quality assurance and accountability.

The review considered the continuum of teacher professional learning from ITE through induction and on into CPD and so the areas it reported on have much in common with the topics discussed in this thesis. The report made 50

⁴¹ I provide a full reference here for *Teaching Scotland's future: a report of a review of teacher education in Scotland* but hereafter in this chapter, refer to this policy only as the Donaldson Report or at times for the sake of readability, simply as the Report.

recommendations. I therefore refer very briefly only to aspects of the report most relevant to my earlier concluding discussions (cf. Chapter 9, p.259).

Overall, the tone of the report is characterised by a concern with impact. There is a focus on the impact of CPD at two levels. Attention is given to:

- CPD which is considered to make little difference (SG, 2010d, p.9) and
- CPD which is considered a means to bring about change (SG, 2010d, p.10).

There is also a concern with the impact of the PRD process (SG, 2010d, p.9). The discourse of impact seems to grow throughout the Report to the extent that only making an impact is insufficient. Rather, the imperative is to ‘maximise their [the stages of teacher education’s] impact’ (SG, 2010d, p.28) at ‘points of direct impact’ (SG, 2010d, p.44). Although the discourse of impact was a focus of this thesis, it was also notably the concept which prompted the briefest discussion (cf. Chapter 8, p.252). Indeed, mention of impact seemed to unsettle the women Primary teachers. They seemed to perceive their inability to respond as somehow indicative of some level of failure. Surprisingly though, these teachers could find the Donaldson Report as a place to find solace. Although unwavering in the demand for impact, the Report does acknowledge the complexity of the lived experience of teacher learning and concedes:

Currently there are no arrangements to assess effectiveness and impact within each aspect of the teacher education process. ... measures of effectiveness are difficult to identify and disentangle from various other factors

(SG, 2010d, p.57).

The Report’s acknowledgement that presently there are no arrangements to assess and measure impact may provide space to shape future arrangements in ways that will acknowledge the complexity of being a teacher. What does seem certain though is that the discourse of impact will continue to feature in Scottish education policy for some time to come.

Throughout the Donaldson Report, there is some concern to stress that an aim of the Report was to build on what was already being done well, to strengthen the teaching

profession in Scotland. The Report's construction of teachers seems to reflect the positioning of teachers in Scotland as professionals. Inevitably, the tensions surrounding the teacher as an autonomous or a restricted professional are rehearsed again in the Report. As discussed in Chapter 2 (cf. p.28), the notion of the teacher as a professional in need of direction can be found in the Report:

bolstered by the existence of a framework of standards set by the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS), structured induction for newly qualified teachers, the valuable contributions to professional learning made by national organisations, local authorities, teacher and headteacher associations, and contractual provision for teachers to engage directly in the education of new colleagues and to pursue their own continuing professional development all place Scotland in a strong position when compared with other countries internationally.

(SG, 2010d, p.2).

Yet a construction of the teacher as a reflective, enquiring professional able to lead change can also be found. However, although there is frequent reference to twenty-first century professionals and discussion of what such a teacher may look like, the Report's final construction of such a teacher is neither new nor bold. A reductive view of teachers, featuring the discourse of teachers as knowledge consumers rather than knowledge producers, of teachers as pedagogical technicians can be found in recommendation two:

Education policy should support the creation of a reinvigorated approach to 21st century teacher professionalism. Teacher education should, as an integral part of that endeavour, address the need to build the capacity of teachers, irrespective of career stage, to have high levels of pedagogical expertise, including deep knowledge of what they are teaching; to be self-evaluative; to be able to work in partnership with other professionals; and to engage directly with well-researched innovation.

(SG, 2010d, p.84)

Interestingly, recommendation forty-five (SG, 2010d, p.100) suggests increased structural control at EA level and improved selection procedures rather than cessation of the ChT programme (Hepburn, 2011) (cf. Chapter 9, p.247). Whether

this will further constrain construction of the ChT, as no longer a potentially activist teacher (Sachs, 2003; Reeves, 2009) (cf. Chapter 3, p.53), to that of the policy constructed notion of the effective teacher (cf. Chapter 3, p.54) remains to be seen.

No matter the underpinning ideology of the organisation or researcher, a shared belief prevails that the quality of teacher learning lies at the heart of how to bring about change to education. That teachers' learning is an essential part of educational change is stressed throughout the Donaldson Report. However, tensions already referred to throughout this thesis are also to be found in the Report, with regard to learning and development and individual and school needs (cf. Chapter 2, p.19 and Chapter 8, p.257). On a positive note, the Report addresses the unsatisfactory nature of many teachers' experiences of the PRD process. I suggest, however, that if recommendation thirty-seven:

At the outset of any CPD activity, the intended impact on young people, and the aspects of the relevant professional standard the teacher will improve as a result of the activity, should be clear. Subsequent PRD discussions should review progress with previous intentions. This process should be captured in a continuing online profile of professional development

(SG, 2010d, p.98),

is accepted that this may further limit spaces in which teachers can progress their own understandings and conceptualisations of teacher learning. At a simple level, teachers will find sanctioned opportunities to ready themselves for moves across schools or to engage in learning in preparation to teach a different age range increasingly difficult to find. Appropriate CPD (SEED, 2001) may become even more focused on school needs than it was at the time of this study. Of greater concern though in this recommendation, is the increasing move to use the Standards (SEED, 2005; GTCS, 2006a; 2006b, 2009) not only as measures of competence but of incompetence. Surveillance of teacher learning in the manner proposed in recommendation thirty-seven could be used against teachers who are considered to be underperforming. While teacher incompetence is unacceptable and must be tackled, regulation of teachers' learning in this manner marks an increase in accountability in order to bring about improvement within ever narrowing policy-

approved constructions of change to education. Due to the Report's acknowledged concern with measures of impact, tracking teachers' progress against the Standards in this manner may leave some teachers in an unacceptably vulnerable position.

However, change in Scotland's educational landscape has not been limited to policy, some of the organisations which support and monitor teacher learning in Scotland have also experienced organisational restructuring.

The separateness of the advisory function of LTS and the quality assurance role of HMIe have been subject to governmental scrutiny. At the 2010 annual Scottish National Party conference, the then current Education Secretary announced the creation of a new education agency (Buie, 2010). Bringing together LTS and HMIe, the new body was initially to be titled the Scottish Quality and Improvement Agency and was to be operational from 1 July 2011 (SG, 2011b). As might have been anticipated, the titling of the new organisation caused concern. It was thought that it may indicate the remit of the new agency was to be located more with the previous remit of HMIe than with LTS. Subsequently, the agency was re-named Education Scotland (LTS, 2011a). The extent to which this name change will silence the concerns is yet to be seen.

However, the name aside, the remit of an agency dealing with curriculum development, quality assurance and inspection could alter not only the role of EAs in managing and supporting schools, but could also bring about a loss of impartiality in the interrelated yet previously distinct organisational remits. An organisation which develops and designs curriculum, sets standards for implementation and then inspects will be powerful and will play the dominant role in shaping education and the work of teachers in Scotland.

Having indicated that change is underway, I conclude now with brief mention of the review of teacher employment which, at the time of writing, was ongoing. An outcome of the spending review agreement between the SG and the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) in November 2010 was the agreement to commission an independently chaired review of all aspects of the McCrone Agreement (SEED, 2001). The review titled the *Review of teacher employment in*

Scotland was to be chaired by Professor McCormac (SG, 2011a). The recommendations from the review are to be published in late Summer 2011. As the remit of the committee is:

To review the current arrangements for teacher employment in Scotland and make recommendations designed to secure improved educational outcomes for children and our young people

(SG, 2011a),

the recommendations will again no doubt have many interesting implications for the arguments presented in this study. Notably, at a time of ongoing curriculum reform and austerity, it will be interesting to see the extent to which narrow concerns with the effective implementation of CfE (SG, 2009) and cutbacks in public expenditure may come to shape the subsequent agreement.

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Appendix i: Permission to carry out research

Example of email sent to the Director of Education requesting permission to carry out the study

26th September 2007

Dear

Teachers' Experiences and Perspectives of Early Professional Learning – PhD Thesis

I have recently begun studying for a PhD as a full-time Economic and Social Research Council funded student with the University of Edinburgh. However, until June of this year, I was employed by [REDACTED] as a permanent-post teacher in [REDACTED].

While carrying out a small-scale study for my MSc dissertation (conducted in [REDACTED]) I became aware that although engaging teachers in professional learning is considered increasingly important, that teachers' early, post-probation and up to six years of professional learning, has been a neglected area of research. Much is yet to be understood about the development of early career Primary Teachers. My research interests thus lie in this area. This follows on from my MSc dissertation which explored Primary Teachers' perspectives on professional learning in Information and Communications Technology. My PhD study now aims to explore, then seeks to understand Primary Teachers' perspectives and experiences of early professional learning. The outcomes of this study should make a valuable contribution to the design and development of early professional learning programmes post-induction.

The study will be carried out over 3 years, 2007-2010, with the main data collection taking place in the academic year 2008-2009. I intend to gather data by reviewing documents produced by an authority relating to Continuing Professional Learning, through interviews with CPD Co-ordinators at authority and school levels and through questionnaires and short interviews with Primary teaching staff. A number of purposively sampled teachers will be invited to take part in the study. Contributing to the research will be voluntary and anonymity guaranteed. Interviews will take place at the end of the working day. No preparation will be required. The study will adhere to the British Educational Research Association Ethical Guidelines (2004).

As I would like to carry out this project in [REDACTED] I would like to request your permission to do so. I have attached a copy of my research proposal which contains a more detailed description of the study.

Thank you for taking the time to read this request. Can you please complete the enclosed consent form and return it in the enclosed envelope, alternatively please email me at ann.j.rae@education.ed.ac.uk or call 0130 651 6319.

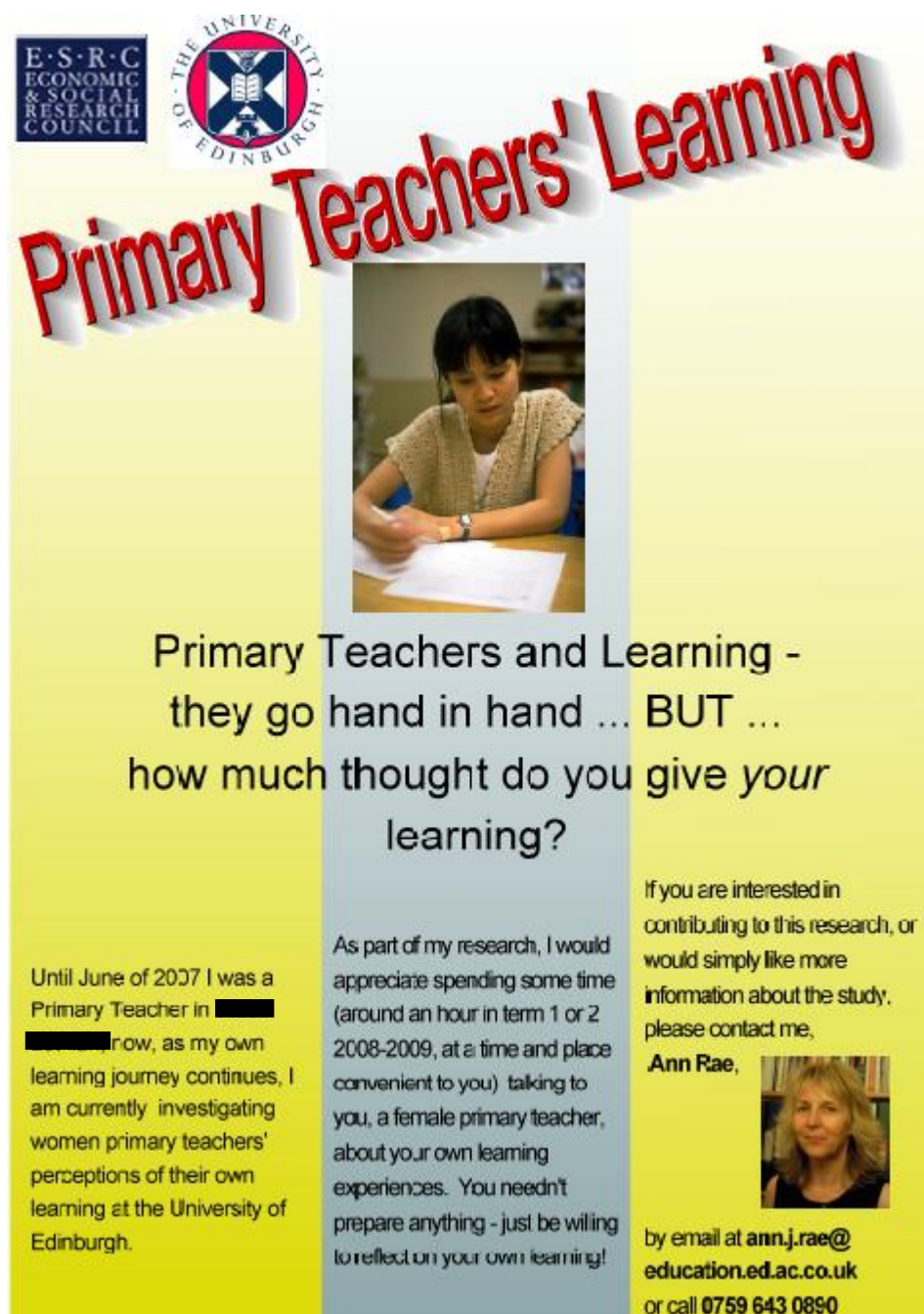
I very much look forward to hearing from you. If you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours Faithfully,

ANN J RAE

Appendix ii: Publicity materials - poster


Example of poster displayed in the Education Centre and sent for display in Primary and Nursery Schools



E·S·R·C
ECONOMIC
& SOCIAL
RESEARCH
COUNCIL

THE UNIVERSITY
OF EDINBURGH

Primary Teachers' Learning




Primary Teachers and Learning -
they go hand in hand ... BUT ...
how much thought do you give *your*
learning?

Until June of 2007 I was a
Primary Teacher in [redacted]
[redacted] now, as my own
learning journey continues, I
am currently investigating
women primary teachers'
perceptions of their own
learning at the University of
Edinburgh.

As part of my research, I would
appreciate spending some time
(around an hour in term 1 or 2
2008-2009, at a time and place
convenient to you) talking to
you, a female primary teacher,
about your own learning
experiences. You needn't
prepare anything - just be willing
to reflect on your own learning!

If you are interested in
contributing to this research, or
would simply like more
information about the study,
please contact me,
Ann Rae,



by email at ann.j.rae@education.ed.ac.co.uk
or call **0759 643 0890**

Appendix iii: Request to publicise study

Example of covering letter sent to Primary and Nursery School CPD Co-ordinators
along with publicity poster



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Education and Society
Room 1.14
St. John's Land
THE MORAY HOUSE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
The University of Edinburgh
Holyrood Road
Edinburgh
EH8 8AQ

25 August 2008

Dear CPD Co-ordinator

Women Primary Teachers' Perspectives of their Professional Learning

Until June 2007 I was a full-time Primary Teacher in [REDACTED]. While teaching I became aware that although teachers are well-informed regarding children's learning at times, we are less likely to actively consider our own learning. Understanding how women Primary Teachers negotiate and engage in professional learning is important in order to then identify any impact CPD has on children's learning. Therefore, I am now researching this topic in an Economic Social Research Council funded PhD study.

I am about to commence data collection for approximately six months until around March 2009, using the Education Centre as a place to meet women Primary Teachers. I plan to interview a number of women Primary Teachers across the stages of the teaching career. In order to make the study and its aims known, I would therefore appreciate if you would prominently display the enclosed poster on your staff notice board and circulate the enclosed leaflets among your staff.

Thank you very much for your help with this matter, I look forward to meeting you and your staff at the Education Centre and hearing some of your thoughts about professional learning.

Yours Sincerely

Ann Rae
Doctoral Student

Appendix iv: Publicity materials – leaflet

Example of leaflet distributed to women Primary Teachers

More Frequently Asked Questions!

How will you record the meeting and who will you tell what I say?
 With your permission, the meeting will be audio recorded. Your identity will be protected at all times: only I will know who the study participants are.

Are there any other uses for the data?
 Some anonymised quotes from the interviews will be used in my PhD thesis and other academic publications, reports or web pages.

Making Contact

If you would like to get in touch either to participate or to simply find out a little more about the project, please contact me by email at ann.j.rae@education.ed.ac.uk or
 Tel No: 0759 643 0890

You can also write to me at:

Ann Rae
 Room 1.14
 St. John's Land
 The Moray House School of Education
 The University of Edinburgh
 Holyrood Road
 Edinburgh
 EH8 8AQ

I will also be making lots of visits to the Education Centre, I hope to meet you there soon!

Thank you
Ann

Primary Teachers' Learning



**Primary Teachers and Learning ...
 they go hand in hand ...
 BUT ...
 how much thought do you give
 your learning?**




Who am I?

Hi, my name is Ann Rae. Until June of 2007, I was a full-time class teacher in a large primary school in [redacted]. Now however, I am an Economic and Social Research Council funded student studying for a PhD at the University of Edinburgh. I study at The Moray House School of Education in the Department of Education and Society.



Information about the project

Following on from the findings of a small case study conducted in 2006, I am very interested in **women** primary teachers' professional lives and their perspectives of professional learning. This current study aims to expand some of the previous study's findings.

To achieve this, I now need your help. I would like to interview a number of women teachers across the breadth of the teaching career. I would like you to talk about your own learning, both your professional learning and past learning and how you balance the varying demands placed on your professional development.

This project aims to build a better understanding of teachers' professional learning from the perspective of women primary teachers.

Frequently Asked Questions

Do I have to agree to talk to you?
 No. It is your choice. You are under no obligation to take part in the study. Even if you do decide to participate, you can change your mind and withdraw at any time. No questions will be asked about why you have changed your mind.

How often will I have to speak to you?
 Most participants will be interviewed once but some may be contacted again to clarify points or to make responses to questions which were not being asked earlier in the project.

Where and when will we meet and how long will the interview take?
 You will choose where we meet. It may be in your school, a room at the Education Centre or Edinburgh University or somewhere else, perhaps a cafe. The time and place will be convenient to you and the meeting will usually last around one hour.

Appendix v: Teacher interview request

Example of email sent to teachers following initial face-to-face contact

Dear

Thank you very much for expressing an interest in my research study! I am delighted that you may be prepared to spend a little of your time talking about your professional learning.

I have attached a copy of the outline I would like to use to guide our interview. As it is a guide, it may be that we won't talk about all the areas. Rather, I hope the interview will take the form of a discussion where we talk together about your learning. While you don't need to prepare anything, it would be useful if you could have a copy of your CPD plan for this year, or your CPD record from last year, as it may help to provide a focus for some of your thinking but if you don't have one, this isn't essential.

However, please don't 'prepare answers'. I hope very much that we will talk together rather than have me fire questions at you! There are absolutely no 'right' answers, it is your thoughts about your own learning that interests me.

I am available to come to your school for the interview or, as I suggested to a different location, maybe a nearby coffee shop? I guess you might want to meet at the end of the school day but again, if an alternative time is preferable, please just make sure the timing and date is good for you. If you are still happy to take part, please email me at ann.j.rae@education.ed.ac.uk with the details.

I do hope you will agree to participate and look forward to meeting you again soon. However, if you decide this is not for you, as we discussed you simply need do no more. If I do not hear from you, I will know you have decided not to participate.

Thank you for your interest.

Best wishes
Ann

Ann Rae
Room 1.14
St. John's Land
The Moray House School of Education
The University of Edinburgh
Holyrood Road
Edinburgh
EH8 8AQ

Email: ann.j.rae@education.ed.ac.uk
Tel No: 0131 651 6319

Appendix vi: Teachers' interview outline

Example of teachers' interview outline

Outline

Reflecting on previous learning

1. Looking back over your learning experiences, can you tell me about yourself as a learner?
Maybe even as far back as Primary, Secondary, University, non-formal
Did you enjoy learning? Did you see yourself as a successful learner?
And now your decision to become a teacher, can you tell me a little about that?
Were you someone who always wanted to be a teacher?

Reflecting on the purpose, form, content, outcomes and provision of CPD

2. Thinking now of yourself as a teacher and your professional learning
Tell me what do you understand by professional learning?
And so what does professional learning mean to you, how do you go about your learning?
Can you tell me a little about why you think teacher's engage in CPD? What motivates them?
Tell me about the purposes there might be for CPD and why they may be useful for teachers
3. Now can you tell me about your own professional learning experiences?
How do you go about planning your professional learning?
You can talk through your CPD plan if it helps.
Can you tell me what you took into account when you planned these activities?
What was the purpose behind the learning?
Can you tell me why you took part in them and tell me about why you have recorded these activities?
Was there any other learning you didn't record?
Can you tell me about that learning and why you didn't record it?
4. Can you tell me a little about what you do after you have engaged in professional learning? Do you evaluate your learning in any way?
If so, can you tell me a bit about the process?
5. Can you tell me about the most successful professional learning you have ever experienced and why you think it was successful?
6. Now can you tell me about your ideal CPD plan?
Can you say about the type of activities it would involve, the people, where it would take place and why you would do it, what would be the purpose of the learning?
7. What do you think would be the outcomes of the learning?
Can you say a little about how why you decided on these activities?
8. Can you say a little about the impact of this professional learning on your pupils?
Can you say a little about improvements/change in learning/attainment/behaviour?
9. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your professional learning?

(Allow the participants to determine the importance of the themes)

Appendix vii: Opinion shapers' interview request

Example of email sent to request interviews with opinion shapers

Dear

Doctoral study: Women Primary Teachers' Perspectives of Professional Learning in Scotland

I am presently a Doctoral Student at the University of Edinburgh investigating women Primary Teachers' perspectives of their own learning. My supervisors are Professors Jim O'Brien and Pamela Munn. The focus of my research lies with building understanding of how women Primary Teachers' make sense of their learning: in what ways their personal experiences and values influence their learning and how this may link to the national framework for continuing professional development (CPD).

Having carried out interviews with a number of teachers and Education Authority representatives, I aim now to build understanding of the policy view of teachers' learning. I hope therefore that you may be willing to contribute your perspective.

The following questions would guide the interview:

- Why do you think teachers' CPD is important?
- What do you understand professional learning to be?
- What do you think is the purpose of the national framework for teachers CPD?
- Do you think it is a standards or a learning framework?
- In what ways do you think the Standard for Full Registration meets teachers learning needs post registration?
- In what ways do you think the framework continues to meet teachers' learning needs post registration?
- Is there anything else we have not discussed about teachers' professional learning that you think is important?

Participation in the study will involve no longer than an hour of your time. I am available to meet with you at your place of work or at an alternative location if that is more convenient. I aim to conduct this series of interviews from November onwards so in order to cause you little inconvenience, suggest you propose the date and time. Following the interview, I will send you a copy of the transcript for review and agreement. Amendments can then be made to the content and/or tone so you are comfortable the transcript provides a fair representation of your perspective.

I do hope you will be prepared to contribute to this study and so look forward to hearing from you.

Yours Faithfully

Ann Rae

Room 2.02
Simon Laurie House
The Moray House School of Education
The University of Edinburgh
Holyrood Road
Edinburgh
EH8 8AQ

Email: a.j.rae@sms.ed.ac.uk
Tel no. 0131 651 6221

Appendix viii: Opinion shapers' interview outline

Example of opinion shapers' interview outline

Outline

- Why do you think teachers' CPD is important?
- What do you understand professional learning to be?
- What do you think is the purpose of the national framework for teachers CPD?
- Do you think it is a standards or a learning framework?
- In what ways do you think the Standard for Full Registration meets teachers learning needs post registration?
- In what ways do you think the framework continues to meet teachers' learning needs post registration?
- Is there anything else we have not discussed about teachers' professional learning that you think is important?

Appendix ix: Sample coded interview

Sample of 1st stage of fracturing and analysing the data - coded interview

Jane IC - Microsoft Word EndNote X2

Calibri (Body) 11 A A

Yes, I think I must be (laugh)

So it doesn't take away from that feeling that you get there

Yeah I get there in the end but it takes a while

And so when you did start to feel that way, was there a time when you thought about it?

When I was little at Primary School I never saw myself as being a high flier particularly, just saw myself as being in the middle and then suddenly when I got to High School suddenly realised that I wasn't in the middle I was better than that and I don't know whether it was the catchment of the school or whether it was the change in the subject areas or the way developed but I suddenly realised that I wasn't in the middle at all

So you felt more successful at High School?

Much more successful, I didn't feel very successful at Primary School at all

So when you were learning can you remember learning in groups or do you remember most of it being individual learning?

I remember it being it being, it was group work because you were withdrawn from whatever you were doing to be taught because in Maths you were withdrawn and you were taught in a group and you were spoken to in your group but you went off and did something by yourself and you weren't allowed to copy and you weren't allowed to talk to your neighbor you had to do it by yourself and if you were stuck you had to ask the teacher and that was the only person you were allowed to talk to about it. So when you were at High School was there more collaborative learning?

Yes I think there was a wee bit more speaking being done then, there possibly wasn't the point where you actually did something as a group but when you were setts, ask you sat in groups and you were able to talk to the person who was sitting across from you and say well what do you think, how are you tackling this and so that was a new experience

So then do you think your perception that you learn slowly simply came from other people being finished before you?

Yes

Comment [Am11]: Acknowledging success

Comment [Am12]: Learning pace is important

Comment [Am13]: Comparing self to others

Comment [Am14]: Increasing own status as a learner

Comment [Am15]: Reflecting on reasons for increasing awareness of self as successful

Comment [Am16]: Comparing feelings of success at PS with HS

Comment [Am17]: Locating reflection of learning in Maths

Comment [Am18]: Learning as an individual

Comment [Am19]: Reflecting on learning as a solitary endeavor

Comment [Am20]: Awareness of teacher with power

Comment [Am21]: Having access to talk during learning

Comment [Am22]: Seeing learning from alternative perspectives

Comment [Am23]: Enjoying co-learning experience

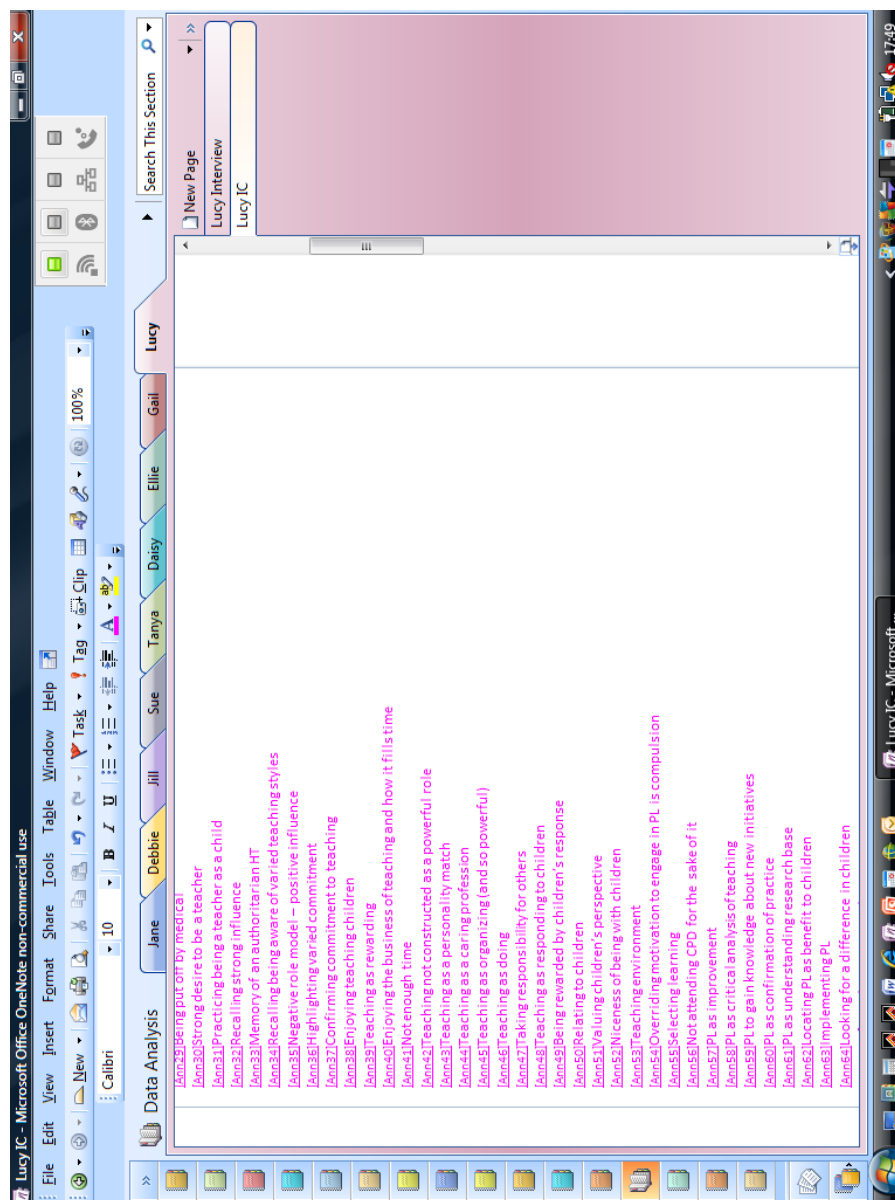
Comment [Am24]: Beginning style of learning that is still present at PS

Comment [Am25]: Perceiving learning as a speedy process

Page: 2 of 14 Words: 5,311 80% 2 Microsoft Office Word 2010 17:57

Appendix x: Data organisation

Sample of 2nd Stage of data organisation – separating the codes from the transcript



Appendix xi: Constructing themes

Sample of 3rd Stage of data analysing – constructing and refining themes

The screenshot displays the Microsoft Office OneNote application window. The title bar reads "Teacher Identity 020709 - Microsoft Office OneNote non-commercial use". The menu bar includes File, Edit, View, Insert, Format, Share, Tools, Table, Window, and Help. The toolbar shows various editing and formatting tools. The main content area is titled "Teacher Identity 020709" and contains the following text:

02 July 2009
11:59

Being a 'good' teacher - discuss in relation to policy and HMile

Search - teacher

Search "good teacher"

No Jane, Sue, Debbie, Claire

[\[Ann138\]Revealing anxiety about decisions which may indicate not being a good teacher](#)

[\[Ann131\]Aiming to locate self as a 'good teacher'](#)

[\[Ann132\]Situating recording of learning within discourse of 'good teacher'](#)

[\[Ann286\]Using current learning discourses to locate self as 'good' teacher](#)

[\[Ann286\]Wanting to be recognised as 'good' teacher](#)

[\[Ann84\]Concern regarding not learning linked to not being a good teacher](#)

[\[Ann551\]Wanting to be 'seen' to be a 'good' teacher](#)

[\[Ann276\]Wanting boundaries so being a 'good' teacher is achievable and explicit](#)

[\[Ann277\]Wanting to be seen to be a 'good' teacher](#)

[\[Ann310\]Concern at not being perceived as the 'good' teacher](#)

[\[Ann315\]Completing more PL than is required to ensure 'good teacher'](#)

[\[Ann350\]Justifying need to meet accountability in relation to 'good' teacher](#)

[\[Ann351\]Prepared to do more than is required to maintain proficiency](#)

[\[Ann359\]Surprise that age is not an indicator of experience - 'good' teacher](#)

[\[Ann360\]Defining a 'good' teacher?](#)

[\[Ann365\]Wanting to be a 'good' teacher](#)

[\[Ann376\]Concern to be accepted by colleagues/to be seen as 'good' teacher by colleagues](#)

[\[Ann246\]Wanting to be a good teacher](#)

[\[Ann172\]Locating good teacher within school improvement](#)

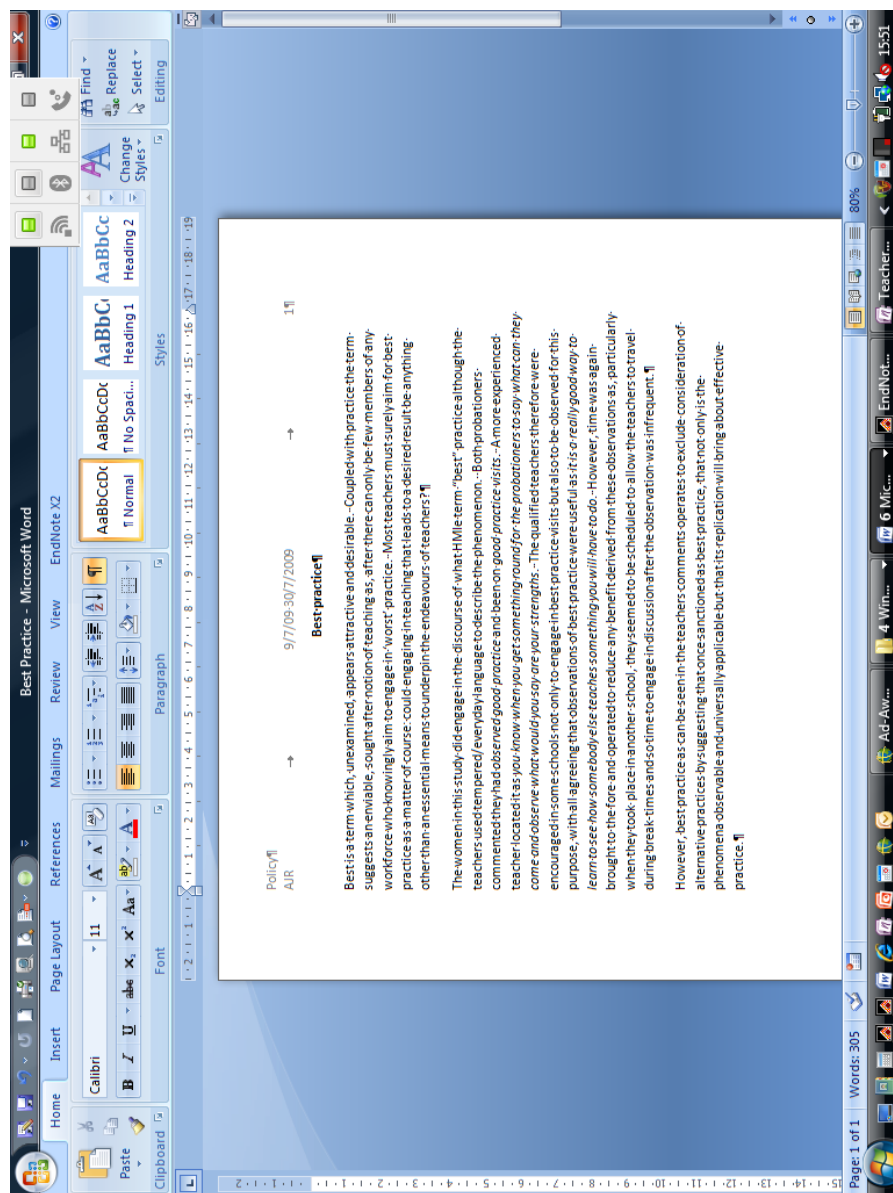
The right-hand pane shows a "Search - teacher" results section with the following items:

- All teachers
- [\[Ann19\]Awareness of teacher with](#)
- [\[Ann33\]Acknowledging awareness](#)
- [\[Ann34\]Being on the other side of t](#)
- [\[Ann37\]Wanting to emulate 'a nice](#)
- [\[Ann38\]Wanting the position of a te](#)
- [\[Ann39\]Revealing restrictions on te](#)
- [\[Ann75\]Expressing awareness of th](#)
- [\[Ann94\]Explaining restrictions of m](#)
- [\[Ann1\]Deciding to become a teacher](#)
- [\[Ann2\]Deciding to become a teacher](#)
- [\[Ann52\]Expressing awareness of id](#)
- [\[Ann53\]Claiming status as a teacher](#)
- [\[Ann54\]Recognition by others as a t](#)
- [\[Ann55\]Identifying teacherly traits](#)
- [\[Ann56\]Meeting others who are no](#)
- [\[Ann115\]Carrying out tasks in spite](#)
- [\[Ann116\]Laying blame with tutors](#)
- [\[Ann117\]Delight at helping colleague](#)
- [\[Ann118\]Proclaiming self a 'teacher](#)
- [\[Ann123\]Connecting change in man](#)
- [\[Ann133\]Assuming as a teacher, she](#)
- [\[Ann138\]Revealing anxiety about de](#)
- [\[Ann139\]Acknowledging the influen](#)
- [\[Ann159\]Concern with not doing, d](#)

The bottom status bar shows "3 Microsoft Office..." and the system clock displays "21:16".

Appendix xii: Sample memo

Sample of ongoing stage of data analysis – writing memos



Appendix xiii: Consent form

Example of consent form signed by all women Primary Teachers



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Education and Society
Room 1.14
St. John's Land
THE MORAY HOUSE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
The University of Edinburgh
Holyrood Road
Edinburgh
EH8 8AQ

Women Primary Teachers' Perspectives of their Professional Learning

I have read and understand the project information leaflet titled 'Primary Teachers' Learning'.

I understand my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs but my real name will not be used.

I understand I can withdraw from the study at any time.

I consent to taking part in the study 'Women Primary Teachers' perspectives of their professional learning'.

Name:

Signature:

Date: